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Points in the History of the Greek, and Indo-Scythian Kings in Bactria, Cabul, and India, as illustrated by decyphering the ancient legends on their coins. By CHRISTIAN LASSEN, Bonn, 1838.¹

Here we must try to supply Strabo's brevity by other accounts. I ascribe to Menandros the subduing of Pattalene and Syrastrene. Strabo makes no mention of these districts as conquests of Menandros beyond those of Alexander's expedition, because Alexander had advanced to Pattalene, therefore in this direction to the sea-coast. This interpretation is proved probable by the well known passage in the Periplus,* according to which, coins of Menandros and Apollodotos were still in use during the Roman era in Barygaza. To Demetrius we must assign the conquest of Ariana, viz. the country of the Paropamisades and Arachosia; this is the opinion already formed by Bayer,† on the authority of Isidor of Charax, who mentions among the towns of Arachosia, Φάρσαγα πόλις, καὶ Δημητριάς πόλις, εἶτα Ἀλεξανδρόπολις, μητρόπολις Ἀραχωσίας, ἔστι δ' Ἑλληνίς. This (town of Demetrius) was probably built by him. But when Bayer thinks Demetrius also founded a town on the borders of the Hydaspes, because Ptolemy says of Σάγαλα ἢ καὶ Εὐθυμηδία

¹ Continued from p. 676. vol. ix.

* p. 17. Huds.

† p. 84.

(*ed-μεδία*) the clue is fallacious. We shall not indeed reject the excellent conjecture, that *Εὐθυδημία* is to be read, and that the town was named after Euthydemos, but why should no one except Demetrius so name a town?

If our remarks above made to the effect, that the Greeks in Bactria previously to the year 200 B. C., possessed no territory whatever to the south of the Indian Caucasus be correct, the following arrangement of our known facts suggests itself. When Euthydemos was relieved from the attacks of Antiochos, he made an invasion, either in person or through his son, Demetrius, of the countries to the south of the Caucasus; here he must have first encountered the Paropamisades. Arachosia bounds on them on the westward, and from thence Demetrius most probably endeavoured to reconquer his paternal inheritance. That here was the main site of his power, is confirmed by the name of the town, Demetrias, and this likewise explains why we have but so few coins of his; they must be looked for in Candahar.

His dominion in western Cabulistan and Arachosia sufficiently explains the title, "King of the Indians." Demetrius, however, pretends, by the adoption of elephants as trophies, to victories over India Proper, and we have no ground for denying his right to them.

It is true, those victories would prove hardly probable, if Menandros were his cotemporary, as Mr. Mueller thinks.* But he takes Strabo's words in a too literal sense, while they, as the passage plainly shows, are intended only as general expressions. The coins at least afford no proof that both were cotemporaries.†

The chronological tables to be obtained for the history of Bactria, can only result from a comparison of all the passages relative to this inquiry.

* p. 209.

† I drew no conclusion for my assertion from the non-existence of the Cabulian letters on the coins of Demetrius, as this may be accounted for by his governing countries more to the westward, where the use of those letters was not so common as in Cabul. It is, however, the most probable supposition that he did not use Cabulian letters, because his successors had the first idea of adopting them (on their coins.)

The principal passage on Eukratides is the following, Justin xli. 6. “ Eodem ferme tempore, sicuti in Parthis Mithridates, ita in Bactris Eucratides, magni uterque viri, regna ineunt. Sed Parthorum fortuna felicior ad summum hoc duce imperii fastigium eos perduxit. Bactriani autem, per varia bella jactati, non regnum tantum, verum etiam libertatem amiserunt; siquidem Sogdianorum, et Arachotorum, et Drangianorum Indorumque bellis fatigati, ad postremum ab invalidioribus Parthis, veluti exsanguis, oppressi sunt. Multa tamen Eucratides bella magna virtute gessit, quibus attritus, quum obsidionem Demetrii regis Indorum pateretur, cum trecentis militibus sexaginta millia hostium assiduis eruptionibus vicit. Quinto itaque mense liberatus, Indiam in potestatem redegit. Unde quum se reciperet, a filio, quem socium regni fecerat, in itinere interficitur, qui non dissimulato parricidio, velut hostem, non patrem, interfecisset, et per sanguinem ejus currum egit, et corpus abjici insepultum jussit.”

First we remark on this passage, that the whole does not refer to Eukratides, namely not that part in which the reasons for the decline and the downfall of the Bactrian empire are enumerated. Throughout the whole passage one idea pervades, viz. that the fate of both empires, the Parthian and the Bactrian, was identical in the simultaneous accession to power of two great monarchs, but opposite in the simultaneous progress of one, to the highest pitch of power; of the other, to total destruction. Under the impression of this leading idea, the author suddenly turns to relate the circumstances which weakened and eventually ruined the empire of Bactria, namely, the wars with the neighbouring nations; this is an important notice, as involving a fact hitherto entirely overlooked, which is, that the detached kingdoms of Drangiana, Arachosia, and India, existed contemporaneously together with that of Bactria. But it does not follow, that all the wars Eukratides was engaged in, must be the very same, which the Bactrians waged with the Drangians, Arachosians, and Indians, or, in other words, it is not necessary, that the three nations, now mentioned, must have formed independent states before Eukratides, as they may also have become independent after his murder. Moreover, if we may be allowed to follow a

clue not wholly authentic, these kingdoms must have originated after Demetrius; for supposing Demetrius king of Arachosia, and that he was here called king of the Indians also, Justin could not separate Arachosia from India in speaking of a time when both countries still obeyed Demetrius. I therefore suspect, that immediately after the overthrow of this king, Eukratides took possession of Demetrius' Indian dominions, while Arachosia and Drangiana, likewise subject to Demetrius, became independent states under their own Satraps. On this supposition the wars by which Bactria was so much disorganized as to fall an easy prey to the Parthians, would have been carried on by the son of Eukratides against the attacks of the united Drangians, Arachosians, Indians, and Sogdians.

Under this view the aspect of Bactrian history is so much changed, that I shall directly mention some facts corroborative of the above.

First. We know, that Eukratides after having conquered Demetrius, turned* his arms against the Indus and Hydaspes, probably therefore, against countries belonging either to Demetrius himself, or to a king allied to him.

Secondly. Two kings laid claim to having reigned immediately after Eukratides, though not in Bactria itself, viz. Antialkides in western Cabul, and Antimachos in Drangiana; this latter on the authority of the coins, which point to a victory at sea.

* Strabo XV. § 3. Ἀπολλόδωρος γοῦν ὁ τὰ Παρθικὰ ποιήσας, μεμνημένος καὶ τῶν τὴν Βακτριανὴν ἀποστησάντων Ἑλλήνων παρὰ τῶν Συριακῶν βασιλέων τῶν ἀπὸ Σελεύκου τοῦ Νικάτορος, φησὶ μὲν αὐτοὺς ἀυξηθέντας ἐπιθέσθαι καὶ τῇ Ἰνδικῇ, οὐδὲν δὲ προσανακαλύπτει τῶν πρότερον ἐγνωσμένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐναντιολογεῖ, πλείω τῆς Ἰνδικῆς, ἐκείνους, ἢ Μακεδόνας, καταστρέφασθαι λέγων. Ἐυκρατίδαν γοῦν πόλεις χιλίας ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ ἔχειν, ἐκείνους δ' αὐτὰ τὰμ εταξὺ ἔθνη τοῦτε Ὑδάσπου καὶ τοῦ Ὑπάνιος, τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐννέα, πόλεις τεὲ σχεῖν πεντακισχιλίας, κ. τ. λ. This cannot be but a contradiction of Apollodoros himself. Groskurd's Erdbeschr. Strabo III. 109.

In these countries this could have only taken place on the great lake of the Drangians. Both kings first assume the title *νικηφόρος*, and are founders of empires by successful wars ; chronology therefore admitting, (on this hereafter,) we may justly attribute to Antimachos the foundation of the Drangian, and to Antialkides that of the Arachosio-Cabulian empires ; the foundation of the Indian empire must then belong to a third king.

If there were only one Eukratides, the coins with Cabulian legends, and the title of great king, must be ascribed to the fortunate, though short, epoch of his life, when his reign extended to the Hydaspes. I say short, because he fell by the hand of his son at the very moment of his return. If there were two Eukratides, those coins belong to the second.

We have before this, doubted the existence of Eukratides II, as far as it was inferred from the coins. We have now to examine the passages of authors adduced in his favour. According to Bayer's assertion, Eukratides is spoken of in a way unsuited to the victorious king of this name ; he thinks, that the son had put to death his father, because he protected the Parthians, who assisted him against Demetrius. But all that we learn concerning the relations of both empires, never shows a friendly, but on the contrary an entirely hostile intercourse. We will not lose our time in conjectures as to the motives of that crime.

The passages which are said to afford the argument mentioned, are the following :—Strabo *XI, 9, 2. ἀφείλοντο* (the Parthians) *δὲ καὶ τῆς Βακτριανῆς μέρος βιασάμενοι τοὺς Σκύθας, καὶ ἔτι πρότερον τοὺς περὶ Εὐκρατίδαν.*

This passage must be explained by the statement, above mentioned, that the Parthians had deprived Eukratides of two of the Bactrian Satrapies, Turiva and the Aspiones ; they afterwards took from the Scythians either this or another northern part of the Bactrian empire ; they took it therefore from the very same Scythians, who under Euthydemus already threatened an irruption into Bactria, and who must afterwards have found an opportunity of invading this country. Why might not Mithridates VI. have availed himself of the siege of Eukratides by Demetrius, in order to subdue the Turanian Satrapies ? Beyond this passage

there is no mention whatever of Eukratides, and we are evidently not necessitated to adopt two kings of this name.

It remains to ascertain the mode of the downfall of the Bactrian empire. It is ordinarily ascribed to the Scythians, according to Prolog. Trog. Pom. xli. “Deinde quo repugnante Scythæ gentes Sarancæ, et Asiani Bactra occupavere, et Sogdianos.” But it is not borne in mind, that while Mithridates reigned in Parthia, the Scythians had not power sufficient to enable them to advance southwards; under Arsakes VII. indeed, or Phrahates II, who was killed by the Scythians, this conquest of Bactria by them may have occurred, whether Arsaces himself or another Greek king, who re-established himself in Bactria, be understood under the term of the epitomator: “*quo repugnante.*” I say *who re-established himself*, as it is certain, that Mithridates the Great, had before taken possession of the Bactrian empire, and governed it till his death. “Bactriani, per varia bella jactati, non regnum tantum, verum etiam libertatem amiserunt, siquidem—ad postremum ab invalidioribus Parthis, veluti exangues, oppressi sunt”. The term “*weaker,*” refers to the remark Justin had previously made, that the Parthians were in the beginning of their power much *weaker* than the Bactrians. Mithridates therefore is the real subverter of the Bactrian empire.

There exist some passages on the conquests of Mithridates towards Bactria and India, but they require a critical examination.

According to Diodorus,* who perhaps imagined that king to have taken possession of the Indian dominion of Eukratides, he conquered the empire of Porus. Independently of the little authority of Diodorus, Porus was considered since Alexander's time as a mere representative of Indian sovereignty, generally speaking, and it must depend upon other passages, whether those words mean any more, than that Mithridates extended his power in that direction. Of much less weight is Orosius, a still later

* Fragm. ed. Bip. X. p. 91. ὁ Ἀρσάκης ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπὶ πλείον ἠΰξησε. μέχρι γὰρ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς διατείνας, τῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ Πῶρου γενομένης χώρας ἐκυρίευσεν ἀκινδύνως.

authority ; (V. 4) “ Omnes præterea gentes, quæ inter Hydaspem fluvium, et Indum jacent, subegit Mithridates, ad Indiam quoque cruentum extendit imperium.” Orosius was possessed of a laudable piety, of no great understanding, and rather of a passion for rhetorical flourishes, than of any desire to attempt critical exactness. What were the many nations between the Hydaspes and the Indus, and what were they in comparison to the great empires Mithridates possessed ? The only exact authority, that of Trogus, certifies merely that Mithridates’ dominion extended to the Indian Caucasus. Justin *XLI. 6.* “ Imperiumque Parthorum a monte Caucasos, multis populis in ditionem redactis, usque flumen Euphratem protulit.”*

If Mithridates had reigned to the south of the Hindookoosh, coins of him would also have been discovered in the rich mine at Begram, moreover the continuance of the Grecian empires in Cabul and about the Indus, discourages this opinion.

We have above attributed to the Parthians the overthrow of the Greco-Bactrian empire ; the time of this event may be determined with tolerable exactness ; Justin *xxxvi. 1.*, says of Demetrios Nicator. “ Bellum Parthis inferre statuit, cujus adventum non inviti Orientis populi videre, et propter Arsacidæ regis Parthorum crudelitatem, et quod veteri Macedonum imperio assueti, novi populi superbiam indigne ferebant. Itaque quum et Persarum, et Elymaeorum, Bactrianorumque, auxiliis juvaretur, multis proeliis Parthos fudit. Ad postremum tamen, pacis simulatione deceptus, capitur, etc.” This captivity happened during the year 140 *B. C.* and as Mithridates died only a few years after this event, and as to him is expressly ascribed the conquest of Bactria, this must have occurred about the year 139 *B. C.* In the foregoing passage, Bactria appears then, for the last time, as an independent empire in alliance to the Seleu-

* The same is stated in an account, which, though of a later date, is derived from good authority. *Acct. Sancct. ad XXX. Sept. vol. VIII. 3 20.* Πάρθοι ἐν εὐτυχίᾳ μεγίστῃ ὄντες καὶ κρατοῦντες τῆς τῶν Περσῶν βασιλείας καὶ Ἀρμενίων καὶ Ἰνδῶν τῶν γειτνιαζόντων τοῖς ἐφ’ οἷς Πέρσαις, ἔτι δὲ τῶν σκληροτάτων Μασσαγερῶν.

cides against Parthia, whether it were under a son of Eukratides, or a successor of this king. As Elymais and Persis alone are mentioned, and not Drangiana and Arachosia, the inference may be admitted, that the two latter empires were already occupied by the Parthians.*

One datum only for the more early Bactrian history, may still be derived from extant authors, the accession of Eukratides.

According to Justin, Eukratides ascended the throne at the same time with Arsaces VI. ; but the statements and opinions on this very point are unfortunately very uncertain. Bayer upon his investigations places the commencement of the reign of both about 181 B. C.

According to Visconti, Mithridates' accession occurred 165 B. C. (Bayer p. 86, Visc. Iconogr. III. 70) Here are indeed to be found reasons for the probability only of the fact, and they apparently are in Bayer's favour. We perhaps fall into the less error of the two by adopting the medium between both dates, 175 B. C.† The first expeditions against India under Euthydemus, his death, the foundation of an independent kingdom by his son Demetrios, the expulsion of the Euthydemides from Bactria, either by Eukratides, or by a predecessor of his, all those events must be assigned to the years 200

* Bayer (p. 90) has thoroughly reviewed a difficult passage of Orosius referring to this place.

† Mithridates' accession must not be placed too far down, as he died at an advanced age "gloriosa senectute," and it is likely ascended the throne early. Another reason for the determination of the foregoing date, is that the war of Demetrios with Eukratides, must not be fixed at too late a time. The former, was at the conclusion of a peace between his father and Antiochus, a youth, about 20 years old. If he now fought in the 55th year of his age with Eukratides for the possession of Bactria, this war happened 30 years after, 200 B. C. or 170. If our conjecture were correct, that Antimachos could only have acquired his empire in Drangiana and in its neighbourhood after the overthrow of Demetrios, this would be another confirmatory reason. It is not necessary to bring him in direct parallel with Antiochus IV. ; yet the commencement of his reign cannot be traced to a later period than 164, but rather to an earlier one; M. R. R. adopted the year 170.

—175 B. C. Between 175—140, according to our foregoing review of the facts, occurred the overthrow of Demetrios, the murder of Eukratides, and the reign of his son, or of his successors. All is here uncertain, save that the reign of Eukratides must not be extended too far, as he fell in the midst of his victorious career, and appears to have made only one campaign in India.*

§ 16.

The Scythians in Bactria.

Euthydemus mentioned to Antiochos as a reason for not overweakening his power, that in this case he would not be able to repel the northern barbarians, and that Antiochos' own provinces would run the risk of being inundated by the invading current of the barbarian hordes. (Polyb. XI, 34.)

The Bactrian kings had in their palmy days possession of the country of the Scythians in two directions; to the east, beyond the Mustag, the provinces of the Phrunians and Seres, and on the north towards the Caspian the Satrapies of Turan, and another named after Aspiones. Mithridates had taken the latter, probably when Eukratides fought with Demetrios.

Among the nations in warring with which the Parthian empire became exhausted, the Sogdians are mentioned; they can hardly be Sogdians properly speaking, but rather the Saces, who had invaded Sogdiana; Strabo represents them as of that nation, when he says on the occasion of the great irruption of the Scythians, that they had started from the country beyond the Jaxartes, “τῆς κατὰ Σάκας καὶ Σογδιανούς, ἣν κατεῖχον Σάκαι.”

They are probably the same Saces from whom Mithridates took away a part of Bactria† occupied by them, and who already so early as the days of Herodotus (VII. 64) bordered on Sogdiana, and whose name was given to all nomad tribes and

* There will be found a great difference between my numbers and those given by Mr. Mueller (at o. p. 218.) This is no place for a critical comparison of both statements; I beg only to remark, that the reign of 20 years (160-40) Mr. Mueller assigns to Eukratides in India, is as improbable as the reign of 40 years, generally ascribed to him.

† XI, Scyth. § 2.

people of equestrian habits in Turan. They appear the foremost in the series of invading hordes.

The great inroad of these nations is noticed in two passages. Prolog. Trog. Pompei XLI. "Deinde quo repugnante Scythiæ gentes Sarancæ et Asiani Bactra occupavere, et Sogdianos." Strabo XI. § 2. "Μάλιστα δὲ γνώριμοι γεγόνασι τῶν νομάδων οἱ τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἀφελόμενοι τὴν Βακτριανὴν, Ἀσιοὶ, καὶ Πασιανοὶ, καὶ Τόχαροι, καὶ Σακάρανλοι, καὶ ὀρμηθέντες ἀπὸ τῆς περαιίας τοῦ Ἰαζάρτου, τῆς κατὰ Σάκας καὶ Σογδιανούς, ἣν κατεῖχον Σάκαι."*

If I now maintain, notwithstanding this latter passage, that it was not these Scythians, but the Parthians, who destroyed the Grecian empire in Bactria, the reasons are quite evident. The Scythians could not conquer it during the reign of Mithridates, and when they took possession of Bactria, the country was no longer under the dominion of the Greeks, but of the Parthians, as the irruption of the Scythians happened at the death of Phra-hates, about 126 B. C.

Of the four nations mentioned by Strabo, we know nothing of the Pasians; the Sakaraules seem to have been a separated tribe of the Saces; the Tochares received their kings out of the nation of the Asianes. (Trog. Pomp-prolog. XLII. "Additæ res Scythicæ, Reges Thocharorum Asiani, interitusque Sarducharum.")

We have then more particularly to deal with two nations, with the Saces and Tochares.

The gradual progress of these nomads over eastern Iran, can be traced in the Parthian history; having been taken into pay by Phra-hates against Antiochus of Sida, they arrived too late. As now they received no compensation whatever, and they were led against no foe, they commenced plundering the Parthian provinces, and Phra-hates fell in a battle against them, 126 B. C. (Justin XLII. 1.) This year is the real date of the Scythian inroad. The next king of the Parthians, Artaban, II. (Arsaces VIII) we find again engaged with the Tochares, and dying of a wound receiv-

* The following words καὶ τῶν Δαῶν κ. τ. λ. does evidently not further refer to this subject.

ed in this war.* His son Mithridates fought again, and with more success, against the Scythians. Under his reign commenced the struggle of the Parthians against Rome, and supposing the Scythians up to that time able to maintain themselves in Bactria and Sogdiana, they were then doubtless at full liberty to assume unrestrained dominion. Nor do we find, that the Parthians attacked them any more. Sanatroikes, 77 B. C., is placed on the throne by the Scythians, viz. the Sakaraules; as was the case with Phrahates IV. when expelled by his subjects, in the year 37 B. C. †

Ancient writers do not give us the whole detail of the Scythian settlement in Bactria, nor do we know the name of any of their kings, any more than the manner in which they divided among themselves the conquered provinces. Only one notice which is in fact important, has been preserved; Isidor of Charax, says, (p. 9) Ἐντεύθεν Σακαστανὴ Σάκων Σκυθῶν, ἢ καὶ Πραιτακίηνη.

We observe, as the Saces were the foremost of those nomades, so did they advance farthest to the south and west; they had occupied the Drangian Praitakene, while the Tochaes, under the Asianic kings, settled themselves perhaps nearer to the eastern and northern frontier. ‡

We must not here neglect receiving such illustrations as we are offered by Chinese authorities on the emigration of these Scythians, although the author of this treatise could not directly compare those authorities, and is aware of the confusion caused by Chinese misconstruction of names. But these ac-

* I. C. XLII. 2. As the Tochaes are distinguished from the Scythians, these latter appear to be the Sakaraules. Scythæ, depopulata Parthia, in patriam revertuntur. Sed Artabanus bello Thogariis (sic) illato, etc.

† I. C. XLII. 5. Appian. Mithrid. 104.

‡ A Median Paraitakene was between Persepolis and Ecbatana, Arrian. Anab. III, 19. Ptolm. VI, 4. Diodor. XIX. 34. Strabo XVI, init. Beside this a Sogdian town of the same name, Arrian IV, 21, which was also named Gabaza and Babakene. Curtius VIII, 14, 17. Zmpt. eastwards of Karatag towards the lofty Belurtag. Thirdly, that above mentioned between Drangiana, Cabul, and Arachosia. Ptolemy calls it Tatakene, perhaps country of the Tatas? VI, 19. In Paraitakene lies the old Persian *Paruta*, *hill*, these hills are the Kohistan of modern Persian geography.

counts however afford the great advantage of having originated with a nation, which had entered upon various relations with those Scythians, and was informed by embassies of their circumstances.*

These accounts however require a critical examination in various points, and even here, though only limiting myself to the most remarkable facts, I cannot quite omit this task.

The Yuetchi, a nomad tribe of inner Asia first appear in the upper Hoangho, whence they are repelled by the growing power of the Hioungnus; one sept called *the little*, turn southwards to Tibet; the larger division bearing the name of *the great*, set out farther westwards to the countries beyond the Jaxartes; this event happened in the first half of the second century before our era.† This division originally consisted of five hordes.

In the country recently occupied by them, they fall in with the people of an earlier emigration, called the *Szus, Sais, Ses*, also nomades under some petty chiefs. This tribe is forced to retire further west, and as the Yuetchis conquered new pastures on the borders of the Ili, the *Szus* must have been removed to the Jaxartes. In these *Szus* the *Saces* have been long ago recognized; this corresponds with the fact, that the *Saces* had

* The most important facts are already put together by De Guignes: "Sur quelques événements qui concernent l'histoire des Rois Grecs de la Bactriane et particulièrement la destruction de leur Royaume par les Scythes, etc" in Mémoires de l'Académie Royale des inscriptions et belles lettres. Tome XXV. II. p. 17. Abel Rémusat has supplied information of this kind in some writings, viz. in the "Recherches Tartares," in his "Mélanges," in his "notes to Foë Koue Ki". Klaproth in the "Tableaux Historiques de l'Asie." It is true, great mistakes have been pointed out in the work of De Guignes with respect to his interpretation of Chinese names; but he is not prepossessed, as his successors are, by the monomania of recognising in the Chinese accounts German tribes in inner Asia, as Goths, Getes, Jutes, Juetes, Jits, and Jats. The reading *Yuetchi* instead *Yuetchi*, originates in this visionary idea, and the Russian Sinolog, father Hyacinth, who was not acquainted with this beautiful discovery, quietly continued writing *Yuetchi*.

† De Guignes, p. 21. Klaproth, p. 57. p. 132. Rémusat to Foë K. p. 83. The year 163 B. C. is mentioned.

already, before the destruction of the Parthian empire, taken possession of a part of Sogdiana. This era likewise agrees with the fact above mentioned, that the Sogdians had contributed their share in weakening the power of the Bactrian empire ; this event must therefore have happened in the latter days of Eukratides, or in the time of his successor, posterior to 160 B. C.

The Yuetchis remained not long in the possession of their new country ; another nation, the *Ousun*, flying from the *Hioungnus*, deprived them of those districts ; the Yuetchis ejecting the *Szus*, occupied the provinces possessed by them ; the *Szus*, pushed to the south, find an opportunity of taking possession of the country *Kipin* ; the Yuetchis, following in their wake, take the country of the *Tahia*.* A Chinese general, *Tchamkiao*, accompanied this expedition of the Yuetchis, and the well ascertained event occurred immediately previous to the year 126 B. C.

This is the very year in which Phrahates was killed by the Scythians ; the Yuetchis and the *Szus* flying from them, are therefore the Tochaes and Saces of western writers, whom Phrahates is reported to have taken into pay. These mercenaries were perhaps at first the *Szus*, and we indeed find Artaban opposed to the Tochaes. Whether the *Szus* were driven into Bactria, according to the Chinese account, or called into that country as according to Justin, both statements may be right as regards their immediate narrative. Phrahates wished to avail himself of the Scythians, pressed into his neighbourhood, to strengthen his army. While Mithridates, “*ultor injuriæ parentum*,” arrested for some time, it appears, the progress of those Scythians.

The Yuetchis divided the conquered districts according to the number of their hordes, into five parts ; they had the country of the *Asi*, or *Ansi*, whom De Guignes reads *Gansi*, as their western frontier ; it is as appears probable correctly interpreted as the country of the Parthians.†

* De Guignes, p. 22. p. 23. Kl. p. 133. Rém. p. 83.

† Rém. p. 83. De Guign. p. 23. Kl. p. 133.

Turning to the Szus who had conquered Kipin, we have already defined generally the situation of this country, which will become still clearer from the reports on the Szus. (De Guign. p. 29.) The country Kaofu, it is said, is very extensive; the inhabitants resemble the Indians in manners, and character, being rather mercantile, than warlike. Previous to their latter subjection under the Yuetchis, one part belonged to the Indian kings, another to the Ansi (Parthians); a third to the kings of Kipin (viz. the Szu-sovereigns of his account). Hence it clearly appears, that Kipin is the country in the west of Cabul below the Kohi Baba to the westward. Combining with this, the statement that Sakastane received its name from the Saces, we find, that the Kipin of the Chinese is the country of the western Paropamisus, the pastures of which are moreover occupied by a Mongolian tribe of nomades, the Hezarehs.* “Kipin” however is a political not a geographical term, and may on occasion also embrace portions of Cabul, Arachosia, and Drangiana.

What the Chinese mention of the productions of art in this country, as silks, gold, and silver vessels, refers of course to the dexterity of the subjugated inhabitants, or those articles were imported by trade. A notice of much importance, is the following, that they struck gold and silver coins; on the obverse the effigy of a horseman, on the reverse, of a man.†

As the Chinese had commercial intercourse with the empire Kipin, the names of some kings are mentioned. During the reign of the emperor Woo-ti, (died 87 B. C.) *Utolao* (or *Ontheoulao*) reigned in Kipin. His son was killed by a certain *Inmoffu*, who usurped the throne 30 B. C. Kipin is still spoken of at a much later time, but it is not noticed, whether it continued under its kings from the people of the Szus; this is,

* To this passage refers the misplaced and apparently absurd remark with Steph. De urb. 5. v. Ἀραχωσία, πόλις οὐκ ἄπωθεν Μασσαγερῶν. How comes Arachosia to the country of the Scythes? However, the Scythes are meant possessing Kipin.

† De Guign. p. 25. He knew of the Eukratides' coins only those with the type of the Dioscuri, and referred this notice to them.

however, improbable, as it is stated, that the Yuetchis took afterwards possession of this country likewise.*

Now leaving the Szus for the present, we will recur to them, when in the progress of our research we have to consider the countries south of the Caucasus.

The Ansi, having their abode to the west of the Yuetchis, were a powerful nation with many towns; they had gold and silver coins, bearing on the obverse the image of the king, on the reverse a male figure. When a king died, his successor struck new coins. The Ansi wrote on hides, in horizontal lines (not in vertical, as the Chinese), carried on an extensive trade, and had conquered many countries.† De Guignes justly compares the constant type of the more ancient coins of the Arsacides with the portrait of the king, and the reverse of a Parthian bending a bow.

But how to explain the fact, that the Chinese term the same people Yuetchis, while the Greeks call them Tochaes. Who are the Tahias? who the Ousuns? De Guignes, with whom I agree, holds the latter as the Asiani; they may have given kings to the Yuetchis, in the same manner as so many Turkish hordes stood afterwards under the dominion of the successors of Gengis Khan. The Tahias are taken for the Dahes, the *Δααί*, and the Yuetchis on their irruption into Sogdiana must have indeed met with tribes of this people.‡ When it is said, however, that the Yuetchis conquered all the countries of the Tahias, the Dahes had either spread themselves over Bactria to the southward, or the name of the country first conquered was transferred to those afterwards subjugated.

The name Tochaes afterwards occurs with the Chinese under the form *Thuholo*, as they could not otherwise express it.§ We still recognize Tocharestan, which has received the name from them. But it need not be the same people; the Tochaes of our

* De Guign. p. 27. Hyacinth in Ritter's "Erdkunde" VII. 682. etc.

† De Guign. p. 28.

‡ According to Strabo XI. Scyth. § 2. Καὶ τῶν Δαῶν οἱ μὲν προσαγορεύονται Ἀπαρνοί, οἱ δὲ Ξάνθιοι, οἱ δὲ Πίσσουροι.

§ Neumann. Asiat. Studien. I, 179.

time are Turks; for I think I may venture the conjecture, that this name in the Perso-Indian languages denoted the inhabitants of the cold snowy table land of the Belurtag; this nation may therefore have had the name of Yuetchis, or a similar one, and yet have been called Tochaes, by the Bactrians, as they arrived from those snowy districts.*

Following the farther fate of the Yuetchis in Bactria, there afterwards appears a king named *Khieout-Sieouhi*, who uniting the other hordes, makes war on the Parthians, takes Kaofu from them, then also conquers Kipin, and Hantha; but he more likely took Kipin and Kaofu from the Szus. Klaproth places this event in the year 80 B. C.; Rémusat in the first century of our era; De Guignes 100 years after their first settlement in Bactria, therefore 26 years B. C.; so likewise does an anonymous translation of Chinese history.† The Chinese accounts certainly correspond, and we owe this pleasing incertitude only to our European chronicles. We hope to be excused ascribing the greatest negligence to our countryman, Klaproth. But we must continue; *Khieout-Sieouhi* is said to have died aged 80 years. His son *Yenkaotching* (the commencement of whose reign, would therefore have been about 30 A. D.) conquered India, advancing far to the south and to the east. The Yuetchis having become powerful, waged a war even against the Chinese under their governor *Pantchao*, in the

* *Tushara*, and with the pronunciation *kh* for *sh*, *tukhara*, denotes in Sanscrit *snow*, *ice*, *frost*, and so is named in the old Indian geography a people in the north of the Hindookush. A king of Kashmir, of the family of the Thuholos, 600 years after Buddha, (therefore 56 A. D.) is mentioned by the Chinese Buddhists; this was long before the Chinese knew Thuholo, and a proof, that the Yuetchis, to whom this king must have belonged, were named *Tukhara* in India. The Yuetchis however, or a neighbouring people of them in India, are also called *Turushka*, since Kanishka is said to have belonged to this nation, 500 years after Buddha.

† De Guign. p. 27, who read Tata instead of Hantha, Klaproth. p. 133, has Pouta; Rém. p. 83. Hantha. As. Trans. vi. p. 63. "the Chinese general Chang-keen (Tcham-kao) was sent as ambassador to the Yuetchi by the emperor Woote (B. C. 126.) And about a 100 years after, a prince of this nation subjected the Getes in Kophene (Szu in Kipin) and India was again subjugated by the Yuetchis."

westerly tributary provinces of China; this was carried on in Khoten, in the year 98 A. D., and gave occasion for the discovery of the Caspian Sea.* Yenkaotching is however not said to have made this war, and it is very improbable, that he did so, as it occurred between the years 75-98.

The greatest power of the Yuetchis obtained therefore in the first century of our era. The father, Khieoutsieouhi, had engaged in hostilities with the Parthians; if this were the same in which Prahates IV. expelled Tiridates by the assistance of the Scythians (Justin XLII. 5,) it commenced about the year 40 B. C., and his son would be more correctly placed in the years beginning from 20 or 25 A. D.†

The power of the Yuetchis continued to the third century.‡ After this time it was weakened by new hordes of northern barbarians. Still however their empire maintained itself; and Chinese history in the beginning of the fifth century makes mention of a king *Kitolo*, who again undertook an expedition against India. India appears therefore meanwhile to have been taken from the Yuetchis. *Kitolo* is said to have conquered Balkh, Gandhara, and five other provinces. According to others, *Kitolo's* son founded the empire of "The Little Yuetchis" in *Foeleoucha*; here is some confusion, at least in the translations.§

Let us now sum up these facts. First, we have an empire, founded in Kipin by the Saces, commencing about the year 126 B. C. This may have maintained itself till the Yuetchis advanced southward, therefore almost to the beginning of our era. It embraced a part of Cabul, and we must hereafter examine, whether their kings did not also reign on the borders of the Indus.

Secondly, an empire of "The Great Yuetchis," or Tochaes, in Bactria and Sogdiana, divided into separated hordes, to the

* De Guignes, p. 30. Rémusat, Remarques sur l'extension de l'empire Chinois, p. 120. Mr. Ritter, Erdkunde VII, p. 554. has translated Rémusat's term 75 A. D. by 75 B. C.

† De Guignes, p. 28. But he certainly makes an improper use of this notice.

‡ De G. p. 31. R. to F. p. 83. Kl. p. 133. As. Trans. VI. 63. where the year 222 A. D. is stated.

§ De G. p. 31. R. to F. p. 84. Kl. p. 134.

year 40 B. C., and limited to the north of the Caucasus, thence conquering to the south of the mountains, Kipin, Kandahar, Cabul, including a large portion of India. The subversion of this empire coincides with the accession of the Sassanians.

Thirdly, the empire of "The Little Yuetchis" in Gandhara and India, at the commencement of the fifth century.

It is uncertain, whether we still have coins belonging to the Yuetchis, whose dominion was only in the north. We could only be inclined to assign to them those having on the reverse a horse, and not Cabulian legends.

Euthydemus and Eukratides as sovereigns of Bactria, famous for the fine breed of its horses, appear to have likewise adopted this symbol on their coins. And supposing even that coins with elephants belonged to the earlier period of the Yuetchis, we must ascribe this to the fact, that some of their hordes boasted of having penetrated to India.

Numismatology apparently profits us more for the history of the Scythians in the south of the Caucasus ; but we must first take up again the thread of the Greek dynasties.

§ 17.

Greco-Indian empires.

We first call to mind, that the campaigns of the Greek kings from Bactria against India, can have but commenced about 200 B. C ; that they originated with Euthydemus or his son Demetrius, and were directed against the power of the kings of Palibothra, the descendants of Chandragupta. This latter assertion must be more exactly detailed.

We know from ancient writers, that Chandragupta in his conclusion of peace with Seleucos Nicator acquired parts of Gedrosia, Arachosia, and of the country of the Paropamisades, and that their friendly relations continued under the sons of both kings, Amitrajâtâ and Antiochos Soter.* The third king of the Indian dynasty, Dharmazôka, is a name very celebrated with

* De Pentap. Ind. p. 44. Zeit-schrift fuer die Kunde des Morgenlandes i. 109.

the Buddhists, because he afforded a general patronage to their religion, a fact now undoubtedly confirmed, as the inscriptions are decyphered, by which Azôka throughout his whole empire invited the adoption of the doctrines of Buddha.*

We may therefore rely upon the statement in the Buddhist annals, that Dharmazôka enjoyed a long, peaceful reign during the years 260—219 B. C.

To corroborate the fact, that the dominion of Azôka, like that of his predecessors, extended to the Caucasus, it may be mentioned, besides the absence of reports stating the contrary, that the Chinese pilgrims also met with in the valley of the Panjhir monuments erected by Azôka for the glory of his religion.†

As another confirmation may be adduced the circumstance, that Antiochus in the year 205 renewed the confederacy with the king of the Indians, which could be only the case with a king of the Maurja-dynasty of Palibothra.‡ The king then mentioned, Sophagasenos, appears to be a son of Azôka.§

Contrary to this opinion, the successor of Azôka is named Sujazas (“of good renown”) in the Brahmanic genealogies; but we can hardly be deterred by this from comparing him with Sophagasenos (Subhagasena, “of the victorious army”||) as these kings even publicly substituted their titles of honour for

* As. T. VI. p. 472. 791.

† Foë K. K. p. 395.

‡ Also this name was known to the Greeks; see the interpretation of the word *Μωπεις* in my Prâcrit grammar, p. 247.

§ Zeitschr. I. 110.

|| M. de Schlegel, Ind. Bibliothek I. p. 258. The Chinese traveller Fahian also proves, that the son of Azôka reigned in Gandhara, Foë K. p. 67. If Rémusat has correctly translated the Chinese word “Fai,” the Buddhists have called him “Dharmavardhana.” The son of Azôka, who also reigned in Kazmira, is called Ialôka in the annals of the country, (Râj. Tarang. I. 107) a reading, which is hardly correct. It is evident from the succeeding verse, in which is certainly a play on the word *Jazas*, fame, that in the former text, this word also occurred in his name. He is said to have cleared the country from invading barbarians. At the same place, p. 115. His successor is a king of another family. From these traditions I shall only retain, that inroads of barbarians are mentioned immediately after Azôka, and that with his son the empire of the kings of Palibothra in Kazmira found its termination.

their original names, as *Azóka styles himself Pijadasi* on the columns.

The successor of Sujazas, Dazaratha, is confirmed by the inscriptions in the Buddhist temples at Gaja, in Magadha,* (Behar.)

I think it is by no means a rash attempt to connect these Indian reports with our investigations. Thence would result the following arrangement, viz., that Sujazas, who must have died at the commencement of the second century B. C. if he had reigned twenty years (on this we have no information), is the very same Palibothrian king with whom Antiochus renewed the confederacy; secondly, that the barbarians, who under his reign invaded India, are the Bactrian Greeks themselves; and, thirdly, that he or his successor, despite of Indian accounts to the contrary, was expelled by them from the westerly parts of his empire.

From our previous inquiry, it was evident, that Demetrios undoubtedly reigned in Arachosia, and thence more westward; whether his rule extended in an easterly direction, was left uncertain. We must now, however, appropriate to Agathokles also a share in the first expedition of the Bactrians against India, for by the beautiful execution of his coins he is coeval with Demetrios; he claims a purely Indian country as his dominion, and especially eastern Cabul; lastly, by the adoption of the old Indian letters he shows, that he succeeded in these provinces the kings of Palibothra, who used the very same alphabet. Nor do I know how Agathokles can obtain any other classification either at a later or earlier period, unless immediately before Eukratides and coeval with Demetrios. I shall not waste our time by conjecturing in what relation they stood together, how Agathokles commenced his career, and whether he belonged to the family of Euthydemus, or not.†

* This also is a discovery, made by Mr. Prinsep, As. Trans. VI. p. 677.

† It might even be maintained, that by a confusion in the catalogues of names, Agathokles had been received as Sujazas into Indian history, as both words denote the same, and as both kings, according to the comparison of facts, above given, would be of the same period. It is evident, that we have not to recognise the Indian king on the coins, because

Pantaleon, with whom this Greco-Indian empire terminated, must have succeeded Agathokles, whom I therefore hold as king of Nagara Dionysopolis. Both of them have only Indian letters on their coins, and with them too Dionysos disappears.

If we thus have correctly determined the empire of Agathokles and Pantaleon, it must be one of the districts of which Eukratides took possession on his Indian expedition; for after the victory over Demetrios, he carried his arms against the Indus and Hydaspes. We have already noticed, that he probably did not reign there for a long time.

I have above explained my idea, how by the division of Demetrios' power the independent Grecian dominions of Drangiana and Arachosia, referred to by historical authority, had been formed; the Indian empire, mentioned by the same authority, was, if not actually formed, yet first consolidated after the murder of Eukratides. At least the conjecture is natural, that the abhorrence of such a deed must render it easy to an enterprising governor to find ready assistance in a revolt against the parricide. The first Greek king of this Indian empire was certainly Menandros, let the various dates given for his era and his accession differ as they may from mine. Here conjecture must be set against conjecture, and I do not think myself the supposition sound, that Menandros may have acquired the title of *deliverer*, peculiar to this country, by delivering it from the hateful dominion of the son of Eukratides.

On these three Indo-Grecian empires we may make the following conjecture. We assigned to Antimachos an empire

he would have called himself in this case Sujazas, and not Agathuklajô. But if Agathokles deprived the Indian Subhagasêna of the provinces on the Indus, and in the catalogues of kings was mentioned as his cotemporary under the name Sujazas, he might be easily confounded with the name of the Indian king, especially as the son of Azôka had at least two names, a Brahmanical and a Buddhist, like his father, and perhaps his grandfather (Zeit-schrift I. 109.) This explanation is not quite satisfactory to me; the coincidence of both names, above mentioned, is however, hardly accidental; and it is scarcely an objection, that Pantaleon, who probably reigned but a short time, has not left a similar trace in the Indian annals; he must be looked for in Dazaratha, which is impossible.

in Drangiana, as here only a maritime victory, of which he boasts, can have taken place.* To this may be added the following:—The Chinese, by reporting, that the kings of Kipin represented a horseman on their coins, alluded probably themselves only to the Scythian kings; these, however, had certainly adopted the custom from their predecessors.

As now Antimachos, as well as his successor Philoxenos, represent themselves as horsemen, we venture to refer them to Kipin; likewise the humped bull of the latter king alludes to Kipin. This country moreover is Sakastane, or Segistan of a later period.

Antialkides† and his successor Lysias lay claims to having reigned in Cabul and in its neighbourhood; if we have correctly interpreted the report of Justin, they must have possessed, besides Cabul, a part of Arachosia.

Amyntas and Archelios must perhaps also be classed in these two kingdoms.

The empires founded by Antimachos and Antialkides, probably existed but a short time; the first seems to have originated at the death of Demetrios, the second after the murder of Eukratides. We can assign to them no longer existence than to the year 126 B. C., when the Saces settled themselves in Kipin; and scarcely even to that period, as the Parthians had already taken possession of the Bactrian empire. In the passage in which the last struggle of the Bactrians against the Parthians is mentioned, Elymeans are indeed only noticed besides Syrians, and no Drangians or Arachosians. The small number of royal names also corroborate this short duration.

It would be too doubtful a measure to extend the use of Cabulian letters to Drangiana.

* Mr. R. R. p. 18, thinks, he may have assisted Antiochus IV. on occasion of a victory over the Egyptians; but this appears hardly possible, even if he had reigned on the Indus.

† Mr. Mionnet has published (VIII. 483, 520,) a coin of Antialkides, before unknown. Obverse: image of the king with the Causia, and the upper part of the Chlamys. Reverse: Jupiter seated, holding in his right hand a Victory with a Palm, in the left hand a spear, placed across the shoulders; on the right hand near his seat an elephant, who holds a crown in its elevated trunk. Antialkides perhaps obtained the crown by his participating in an Indian expedition.

Still we must here keep in view, that the alphabet on the coins, if indeed derived from the west, must have been imported to Cabul through Candahar and Drangiana, as it did not come to Cabul through Herat and Bactria. Besides this however Antimachos and Antialkides may have imitated the example of Eukratides.

The Greco-Indian empire of Menandros must have existed longer. The number of the names Menandros, Apollodotos, Diomedes, Agathokleia, Hermaios, renders the assumption necessary. I have proved it probable that this line of kings was not encroached upon by the Parthians. The last coins, those of Hermaios, refer to the very same time, when expeditions against the Soter-dynasty may have been first planned by the Scythians. The widely extended empire of Menandros seems under Hermaios to have been limited to Beghram; Menandros must have possessed a kingdom eastward of Cabul, if Antialkides, as it appears, ruled then immediately after Eukratides. It would be, however, too bold to determine any thing concerning the mutual contests of these powers.

From the great number of the Hermaios coins, it is not improbable, that he either himself reigned long at Beghram, or that his dynasty continued there at least for some time; in the mountain country, easily defended, a smaller kingdom might maintain itself with more ease for a longer time. If the relation Kadaphes holds towards Hermaios be correctly stated, the Grecian dominion was here overthrown by an attack from the north, i. e. from the country of Kapisa; the power of Kadaphes itself, however, appears to have been of no great importance or long duration. A greater Indo-Scythian kingdom, as for instance that of Azes, may have absorbed it.

§ 18.

The Saces, the Tochaes, and Parthians in Cabul and India.

We have above left the Saces in the country Kipin, where they settled themselves, about the year 126 B. C., while the Tochaes, following them, roamed throughout Bactria, from whence

they, half a century afterwards, united in one power, and penetrated beyond the Indian Caucasus to the southward. Looking for historical authorities of the further fate of the Tochaes and Saces, I find, that they are brief and meagre, and it appears hardly possible to derive from them any certain results; they must however be examined.

If the geographer Dionysios composed his poem as early as it is ordinarily apprehended, he would have been the first who made mention of the Scythians about the Indus. v. 1088. Ἴνδὸν πὰρ ποταμὸν νότιοι Σκύθαι ἐνναίουσιν.

Eusthathius makes the just remark, that they were Indo-Scythians, as this name could not have been given them previously to their arrival in India. The era of Dionysios being however very uncertain, nothing can be inferred from his passage as to the time of the first advancement of the Scythians to the Indus.

The Periplus of the Erythræan sea, as well as Ptolemy, enable us to determine the extent of the Indo-Scythian empire, although this determination can only refer to a considerably later time than the first appearance of the Scythians on the Indus.

Indo-Scythia embraces, with Ptolemy (vii, 1), the following provinces:—In the direction nearest to the south and the east, Surashtra or the Peninsula Guzerat; then the delta of the Indus or Pattalene; further the country Abiria,* situated above it; he includes in the Scythian empire a small district, and some towns on the eastern bank of the river; most of them lie however on the western bank. How far up the Indus the Scythian dominion extended, is not quite evident; but Artoartar, above held by us to be a Scythian town, is mentioned as situated in the near

* This, and not Sabiria, is to be read, any more than Iberia in the Periplus. They are the Abhîra of Indian geography. De Pentap. Ind. p. 28. The passage in Periplus p. 24, must perhaps be written: Ταύτης τὰ δὲ μὲν μεσόγεια τῆς Σκυθίας Ἰβηρία καλεῖται, τὰ δὲ παραθαλάσσια Συρραστρήνη for Ἰβηρία, καλεῖται δὲ τὰ κ. τ. λ. The delta of the Indus is ascribed to the Scythians in the following passage of the Periplus, p. 22, on the emporium on the mouth of the Indus: πρόκειται δὲ αὐτοῦ νησίον μικρόν· καὶ κατὰ νότου μεσόγειος ἢ μετρόπολις, αὐτῆς τῆς Σκυθίας Μινναγάρ. βασιλεύεται δὲ ὑπὸ Πάρθων, συνεχῶς ἀλλήλους ἐκδιωκόντων.

neighbourhood of Peshawur. Hence it follows, that Indo-Scythia at that period, or rather a little earlier than Ptolemy, included Peshawur, the country on both banks of the Indus from Attock to its mouth, and Guzerat. The Punjab did not belong to it, as the Kaspireans occupied this province, as well as the country up to the Jumna and Vindhia,* neither did Barygaza. The mountains to Arachosia, and the desert on the eastern bank of the river form the other boundaries.

It is therefore evident, that this empire is very small in proportion to what Azes claims on his coins.

We rather have in the limited extent above stated, a dissolved Indo-Scythian empire before us. The Periplus partly explains this decline of the Indo-Scythian power by mentioning that the capital, Minnagar, was in the writer's time in the possession of the Parthians, and that both nations continually expelled one the other.

Let us now inquire into Parthian history, whether it yields us some illustrations.

From our examinations, above effected, of the relations of the Parthians to the Scythians, it resulted, that since the arrival of the Scythians in Bactria and Segistan, to the year 37 B. C. no report shows that the Parthians had regained such ascendancy over the Scythians as to rise against them as conquerors. The same refers also to Artaban III. (died 41 A. D.), who more than once must have had recourse to the Scythians in the north. There is least of all any trace that Vonones I. during his short and troubled reign, may have made the conquest in the east, which we must ascribe to him, if the coins, above mentioned, belonged to him.

Of Bardanes (died 47) a successful campaign is mentioned against the Dahes. What we know of his successor Gotarzes (died 50) does not entitle us to attribute to him any new aggrandisement of the Arsacidian empire. Then come we to Vonones II. who reigned but a few months; after him to his son Volagases. His reign was a long and happy one,† and

* μέχρη Οὐινδίου ὄρους and because Μύδουρα ἢ τῶν θέων therefore Mathura belonged perhaps to the Kaspireans.

† 50---85. A. D. Visconti, Iconogr. III. p. 173.

though he was neither indolent nor of unwarlike disposition, yet he lived in peace with the Romans. It is therefore also on the authority, though only implied, of history, that we assign to his reign the conquests of the Parthians in Cabul, of which the coins with the names of Vonones and Volagases bear witness.* Nor do we think ourselves mistaken in tracing from this settlement in Cabul the Parthian irruptions into India, mentioned in the *Periplus*.

The circumnavigator of the Erythræan sea tells also of these inroads as an eye-witness, in which will be discovered another reason against placing him so low as the era of Augustus.

Be it as it may, if Azes be taken for the successor of Vonones, and therefore of Volagases, he is placed in so late a period, that the close resemblance of his coins with Grecian patterns is quite inexplicable. Considering the extent of the countries which are under the sway of Azes, no other has a juster title to be identified with him than the Yankaotching of the Chinese annals. The time would correspond, as we have to look according to those accounts, for the flourishing power of the Yuetchis just in the years 20—50. (A. C.)

Two facts, however, are at variance with this view. First, the difference of the name, too palpable even for Chinese corruption of sounds, and then, that of the coins.

They are so closely allied to Greek types, that we must connect Azes immediately with the Greeks, and in this case we must likewise expect coins of Indo-Scythian kings who preceding Azes, existed between his time and that of the Greeks, and of this description we found only Mayes. Nor does our numismatological guide, M. Raoul-Rochette doubt in the least as to this earlier era, and accordingly places him immediately after Hermaios (II. 42).†

But if Azes reigned so early, he belonged to the Saces, and not to the Yuetchi. This supposition is supported by the figure of a horseman, which he adopts on his coins; for the equestrian

* Lastly, Volagases I. has styled himself "the just," as the Cabulian. Mionnet VIII. 448. Vonones I. does not bear this epithet.

† II. 42.

coins come from Kipin, where the Saces, and not the Yuetchis, had settled themselves.

Now it is true we have not observed that the Saces as well as the Yuetchis have made any conquests in India ; but it seems to follow, first, from the fact, that the empire of Hermaios apparently was on the eve of its destruction at the very time (120 B. C.) to which we may assign the inroads of the Saces in India, immediately after 126 B. C. : secondly, because the capital of the Scythian empire of a later time, was named Min,* and as this name occurs in Sakastane itself, it must have come thence, and not by means of the Yuetchis to the Indus. It would be, lastly, implied in the Chinese chronology, if correctly translated,† that the Yuetchis reconquered India ; and before them, who but the Saces in Kipin could have conquered it ? However little confidence we can put on these discussions, yet we must at once adopt the supposition, that the empire of Azes existed about 100 B. C.

Azilises declared himself as successor of Azes ; as the Chinese mention two names of these kings of Kipin, we shall perhaps in time obtain coins of theirs, by which the era of Azes may be determined with greater certainty.‡ The coins above described, can only be hypothetically taken for the coins of such successors of Azes.

If Azes, however, be considered as the founder of an empire of the Saces in India, either Kadphises or the nameless Soter-Megas, must be held as the great conqueror under the Yuetchis.

Among them the king last mentioned appears to have most claims, in virtue of the remark, already made, that he seems to have founded a new dynasty, which was established from Bactria in Cabulistan and the Punjab, and again assuming the

* Nagara, Sanscrit town ; Μιν πόλις in Sakastane with Isidor, p. 9. De Pentap. Ind. p. 56.

† As. T. VI. p. 63.

‡ I would even conjecture, that Ontheoulao was Azilises, if I were persuaded that the Chinese express a Z by th. They place him 87 B. C., and this statement is indeed in a striking manner corresponding with the place given by the coins to Azilises.

name Soter of the Greek kings, maintained itself up to the period of the Parthian relations with India.

The monogram of the nameless king, and the epithet of *deliverer*, recurs as well on the coins of Kadphises as on those above described ; it occurs last on those of the Kanerkis. Azes has not this monogram ;* it seems therefore to be the monogram of the Yuetchis. In all of them are probably to be recognized successors of the nameless king of the Yuetchis, but it remains doubtful, how we have to place them before and after the Parthian epoch of those provinces, and whether they succeeded to the same throne, or reigned at the same time in neighbouring countries.

Ptolemy's description of Indo-Scythia, like that in the Periplus, shows a smaller Scythian empire on the Indus, together with which more than one kingdom may have subsisted in western Cabulistan. The author of the Periplus mentions besides those, an independent kingdom of the very warlike Bactrians (p. 27) ; the Yuetchis alone can be understood by this. These intimations point to a Scythian monarchy in a dismembered condition at the period to which they refer.

We may assign Yndopherres with more confidence to the Parthian period. On a general view we run no risk of ascribing Kadphises, the Parthians, and Yndopherres, to the last half of the first century (A. D.), but to give more exact definitions would be too dangerous.

Lastly, the Kanerkis, who are allied to Kadphises, and who are the last of these leaders of hordes, probably belong to the commencement of the second century ; but they rather represent a new horde of the Yuetchis, advanced from Bactria, than a direct continuation of the former hordes, for they are distinguished from them, as well as Kadphises from still earlier tribes, by his position, represented as going in a carriage, while previously to him the Scythian kings were represented as horsemen. The Yuetchis are indeed said to have ridden in a carriage, however it is added, in one drawn by oxen.

We have already observed, that the Chinese identified the end of the power of the Yuetchis in India with the beginning of the

* R. R. II. p. 48.

Sassanians, and we have had no reasons to assign to the Kanerkis a later period. If they be referred to a later date, they must be "the Little Yuetchis," who founded a new empire in Gandhara in the fifth century, but such a great interval between Kadphises and the Kanerkis would hardly be admitted.

Other monuments seem to belong to "the Little Yuetchis," on an examination of which we cannot however enter. The history, like that of the Sassanians in Cabul, of the white Huns in India, mentioned by Cosmos, and lastly of the Murundas, of whom Indian inscriptions from the Sassanian time bear witness, would require new preparations far beyond the scope of this essay.

Here we shall therefore add only this, that Fahian being in the year 400 in these countries, mentions the power of the Yuetchis as having passed away (S. Foe. K. p. 766.)

If we be not mistaken, the inquiry leads without compulsion to the probable result, that between the empire of Azes and the renewed power of the Scythians under the king of the Yuetchis, an interval took place in the dominion of the countries on the Indus. This has been already previously* deemed to be a corroboration of the Indian account, according to which the epoch of Vikramaditya, which commences with the year 56 B. C. was founded on the occasion of a victory over the Sacas gained by this king. In this case Indian tradition, which may certainly adduce in its favour the use still existing, and to be traced to a very early period, of counting from that epoch, would be in perfect correspondence with what has been the result of our inquiry into the Scythian history. Vikramaditya reigning in Ujjajini, and therefore a direct neighbour of the Scythian empire, which under Azes extended to the boundaries of Malwa, would, on this supposition, have repelled the successors of Azes to the Indus. After Vikramaditya we hear nothing of the empire in Ujjajini, and this silence finds its explanation in the growing power, soon after the commencement of our era, of the Yuetchis, whose kingdom Ptolemy described as still extending

* As. T. VI. p. 63.

on the Indus to Guzerat. By this power Malwa must accordingly have been confined to narrow limits.*

It would be rather imprudent to venture any conjecture on the distribution of the countries on the Indus and Cabul among

* Having given this explanation, I leave it to the judgment of the reader, whether there be a reason in the account of the Periplus, of the empire of the Indo-Scythians, to bring down, according to the view of M. K. O. Mueller, by some centuries, the epoch of Vikramaditja. If he takes the Vikramaditja, now known to us by old Indian coins, for the real conqueror of the Scythians, his choice is evidently very unfortunate, as this king belongs to the dynasty of the Guptas in Kanôje, contemporaneous with the Sassanians. If there be any correspondence in the accounts on Vikramaditja, it is, that he reigned in Ujjajini. I have already discovered a reference to the empire of Vikramaditja in the passage of the Periplus on the Ozene, viz. that the ancient royal residence was there (de Pentap p. 57), being at that time in a very declining state; and I have no reason whatever to change my view there set forth. It is well known, that Vikramaditja afterwards became the hero of a great number of fabulous tales; he has become the Carolus Magnus of Indian poetry, and is as far removed from firm historic ground as Carolus Magnus would be if we had to take our information of him merely from the chivalrous novels; but for Vikramaditja, save poetry, no prose, on chronicle, has been preserved to us. The early adoption of the epoch of Vikramaditja by the ancient astronomers, might be here of far greater importance than all those tales from which Wilford has endeavoured to construe a history of Vikramaditja, and of the second founder of an Indian epoch, Ialivahana. To render complete this confusion, it must be added, that the name was afterwards often adopted by Indian kings; one of them seems even to have waged war with the Scythians. The annalist of Kashmir, who had, so to say, sufficiently respectable authorities, is doubtful whom of two Vikramaditjas he must take for the real Sakari (enemy of the Saces) Raj. Tar. II., 5. III, 125. He decides himself on the second, (not to put down the epoch, which is clear to him) but because in order to follow the Cashmerian chronology for the Buddhist part of his history, he is necessitated to carry back some centuries all ancient dates, and even to admit afterwards a great gap in the series of the kings. We must therefore accede, contrary to the view of the annalist, to the opinion represented as the common one, in holding the first Vikramaditja as the founder of the epoch. It is now a curious fact, that between him and the second, the reigns numbered together, fill out 286 years. The second reigning 236 A. D. would coincide with the end of the Yuetchi empire and the commencement of the Sassanians, it is therefore probably founded on a historic date, if the second Vikramaditja is likewise represented as fighting with the Saces.

the different dynasties of the Scythians and Parthians, as neither historic accounts assist us, nor are the coins so completely put together, and explained, that the several families can be properly arranged. This is perhaps a fact, that a frequent change of dynasties happened, and a speedy decomposition of the greater into smaller kingdoms. This fact is supported by the nature of those countries, the lawless manners of the nations, and the analogy of Turkish and Mogul history.

Another part of the history of these Scythians is left in the dark. The Chinese annals describe to us the Yuetchis as zealous Buddhists, hence rises the question, whether there still exist with the Yuetchis monuments of this religion.*

We can now take it for granted, that from Azôka's period Buddhism was widely diffused through Cabul; the fathers of the Church also know the Samaneans in these countries; † and the Chinese pilgrims as eye-witnesses, speak, of the great number of Buddhist cloisters and monuments found there; Buddha images are likewise lately dug out in Cabul itself. There is accordingly no want of Buddhist monuments, but it is the question, whether we must attribute them to the Yuetchis.

We must here refer to the coins, and one class of them, that of Behat, must indeed be considered as Buddhist. However it is only probable that those with duplicated legends belong to a Scythian dynasty, but to this are limited the Buddhist numismatological monuments of the Yuetchi kings; and of Azes, Kadphises, the Kanerkis, no really Buddhist coin has been discovered. It must therefore be left undecided, whether the Chinese reports did transfer to all Yuetchis what was only correct to maintain as of a part of them. ‡ But while I must leave this point undecided, I am reminded at the same time that I have given all that from the examination of the coins appears to

* Thus the passage, As. T. VI. 63. At the period when all these kingdoms belonged to the Yuetchi, the latter put their kings to death, and substituted military chiefs. They enjoined all their people to practise the doctrine of Fuh-too-chi.

† See my treatise, in the Rhenish Museum, for Philology, 1832. vol. I., p. 171.

‡ From Professor Ritter's book, the Stupas, etc. Berlin, 1838, which I received when printing my book, I fully understood his view on those monuments, and its reasons. I am sorry to say, that I cannot be persuaded into the Buddhist origin of the topes. I have already above separated

me a certain or a probable result. The field of conjecture is already too richly cultivated, for me to add arbitrarily to what has been done therein. In conclusion, I shall sum up in a table the historic results of my investigation. I need hardly tell the reader, that although in the table the facts are placed together with apparent claim to equal authenticity, they occupy in the book itself, and in reality, all the different places which on a large scale are intermediate between certainty and conjecture in its various degrees, according to individual views.

Separation of Bactria from Syria under,	
<i>Theodotos</i> I. soon before	256 B. C.
<i>Theodotos</i> II. his son and successor,	
<i>Euthydemus</i> expels the family of <i>Theodotos</i> , and himself ascends the throne of Bactria before,	209
Concludes peace with Antiochus the Great, 205, makes conquests in Ariana and India after	200
<i>Agathokles</i> founds an empire in eastern Cabul, about	190
<i>Demetrios</i> succeeds his father in Bactria, about	185
<i>Eukratides</i> takes possession of Bactria. <i>Demetrios</i> maintains himself in Arachosia,	175
<i>Pantaleon</i> succeeds <i>Agathokles</i> ,	170
<i>Eukratides</i> dethrones <i>Demetrios</i> , and conquers the Indian empire of <i>Pantaleon</i> , about	165

the inquiry into the nature of the topes, from the examination of the coins, and postponed it to another time; I maintained at the same place, that as yet no Buddhist coins had been discovered in the topes. Mr. Ritter on the contrary states, that they are met with (p. 207). But he erroneously says, that Mr. Prinsep has recognised among the coins from Manikyala some Buddhist; in the passages quoted he certainly mentions nothing of this kind. Then continues Mr. Ritter (p. 238) "As we now possess ascertained chronological determinations of the Buddhist religion in the Mokadphise's, Kanerki's, and Azes' coins." The four Buddhist coins alluded to by Mr. Ritter, occur As. T. III. pl. XXII. No. 28. till No. 32. They are coins of the Kanerki dynasty, therefore Mithra gods on Buddhist coins? Then III. pl. XXVI. No. 2, No. 3, IV. pl. XXII. No. 12, No. 13, or with him plate VIII. No. 2---4. Therefore Siva on the obverse, while Azes is represented as Buddha seated on the reverse? If Mr. Ritter does not know any other coins out of the topes which escaped my knowledge, I shall not be necessitated to give up my previous assertion, which was here my only purpose to vindicate.

<i>Foundation</i> of a Grecian empire in Drangiana by Antimachos, about	165
<i>Murder</i> of Eukratides by his son, about	160
<i>His son</i> (Heliokles) succeeds him in Bactria, Antialkides founds an empire in Ara- chosia and western Cabul, Menandros a large kingdom in India, after ..	160
<i>Philoxenos</i> succeeds in Drangiana, Lysias in Ara- chosia, afterwards Apollodotos in India, Archelios and Amyntas succeed in the western empires,	
<i>Mithridates I.</i> of Parthia conquers Drangiana about	145
Destroys the Grecian-Bactrian kingdom,	139
<i>Succession</i> of Diomedes, Agathokleia and Her- maios in the Greco-Indian empire to	120
<i>Inroads</i> of the Saces and Tochaes in Bactria ..	126
<i>The Saces</i> occupy Drangiana, the Tochaes Bac- tria, the Grecian empire of Hermaios subverted by Kadaphes about ..	120
<i>Great empire</i> of the Saces under Azes after ..	116 B. C.
<i>Azilises</i> his son, succeeds about,	90
<i>Expulsion</i> of the Saces from the Indus countries by Vikramaditya king of Malwa ..	56
<i>Division</i> of the empire of the Saces,	
<i>Khieoutsieouhi</i> unites the tribes of the Tóchaes and conquers the possession of the Saces after	40 B. C.
<i>Yeukaotching</i> his son, makes great conquests in India about	20 A. D.
<i>Under Volagases</i> conquests of the Parthians in Cabul, and inroads into the countries on the Indus, after	50
<i>Kadphises'</i> empire on the Indus and in upper India to the Ganges, the dynasty of the Kanerkis succeeds in his empire,	100
<i>Downfall</i> of the Arsacians in Parthia, conquests of the Sassanians in Cabul; restoration of Indian power in Upper India by the dynasty of Kanoja, after	226

*Paper on Ancient Land Grants on Copper, discovered in Assam.
Communicated by Major F. JENKINS, Governor General's Agent
N. E. Frontier.*

A putter of three copper plates, joined by a large copper ring to a seal, containing within a raised rim a figure of Ganesh, was lately dug up near the station of Tezpore, in the Durrung division, and I have the pleasure to enclose a copy of the inscription.

A similar grant of two plates was lately produced by a Brahmin in the Kamroop Courts, to substantiate a claim to some Lakhiraj lands; at the time it was first brought up, there was no person in the province who could read the inscription, but having given to a Pundit the alphabets of ancient forms of Sanscrit writing, published by Mr. James Prinsep to illustrate his discoveries, he was soon able to make out the inscription.

It was a grant of land as Burmuttur, by Durmpal, in the year* 36, without any mention what era, to three Brahmins, and detailed the boundaries of the grant. That inscription was not very legible, the letters in some places being much rubbed, but the letters in the present Putter are quite distinct, and I hope they have been correctly copied.

The Dewali which was formed by this grant, viz. Maha Rudra Dewali, is still in existence, though in a very dilapidated state, and has given its name to the Mowza on which it stands.

Of the extent of the country under the Pal dynasty on this frontier, or of any particulars of their family or history, I fear we are not likely to find any records in Assam. The only mention of the Pal Rajahs that I have met with, is a very ancient looking chronicle possessed by a Brahmin, the first leaf of which is apparently lost. It now begins thus:—

Lakhupal,
Subabu,
His minister Sumati,

Then follow the names of

As being the Ra- jahs or rulers of "Burcherides," Per- haps the present dis- tricts of Chooteya, Chardoar, Noadoar, Chudoar.	{	Khetrijetari, His son Subalik, and seven names, ending in Narain, and after them is the name of Ramchandra, then inter- venes the word, Jaintee,
--	---	---

probably meaning the country we call Jain-
teah; and after it follows the names of the follow-
ing Pals:—

Japandu Pal,
Hari Pal,
Dhamba Pal,
Ram Pal,
Pakhya Pal,
Chandra Pal,

* Note. Capt. JENKINS had the kindness to send me subsequently the plates themselves, which were exhibited at a recent Meeting.

Narain Pal,
Amar Pal,
Mantri Pal,
Haina Pal,
Syama Pal,
Mactya Pal,
See Pal,
Gandha Pal,
Madhrub Pal,
Lahikya Pal,

After these follow :—

Minangka,
Gujangka,
Sukanangka,
Mrinangka,
Phinjua,
and others.

These are the names given in page 117 of Prinsep's Tables, but in a different order; but no further notice is taken of any of the Pal race.

There is little doubt but these last named Rajahs were rulers over a part of the north bank, of which Beshnath was probably the centre, as some very extensive lines of fortification are universally attributed to them; and the Pals preceding them, notwithstanding the word Jaintee alluded to, were likely Rajahs over the same country. They may have been a branch of the family of Bupal, who reigned over a district of the empire formerly governed by their ancestors. The succeeding Rajahs were probably Chooteah Cocherees, who are supposed in Assam to have been of the Shan race.

स्वस्ति श्रीमान् प्राग्ज्योतिषाधिपान्वयो

महाराजाधिराजश्रीवनमालवर्म्मदेवः

स्वस्ति । श्रीमत्कैलासभूभृत्पृथुकनकशिलासंगमान्दोलनोत्थैरा
सारैर्हेमपंकाविलतुहिनकरैः सित्तवैशारिसार्थः । अम्भः कीरत्
(सुभूष) प्रवरसुरवधूकेशहस्तच्युतैर्व्वानाकेशद्रुप्रसूनैररुणितसलिलो
ध्यात्सलौहित्यसिन्धुः ॥१॥ स पुनातु पिनाकी वो यच्छीर्षे स्वर्धु
नीजलं । कीर्णं रेचकवातेन तारकाप्रकरायितं ॥२॥ नरक इति
सूनवासीदादिवराहस्य भुवितदुद्वारे । अदितेः कुण्डलहरणे प्रता
पमपि यो हरेरहरत् ॥३॥ कृष्णेन तं निहत्य च सृष्टो भगदत्तवज्र
दत्ताख्योतस्यसुतौतद्वनिताकरुणविलापहतहतहृदयेन ॥४॥ सम्प्रा

म्ने भगदत्ते श्रीमत्प्राग्ज्योतिषाधिनाथत्वं । विनयभरोपितदेत्यप्रा
 राधयद्दीश्वरं तपसा ॥५॥ तुष्टेन तेन तस्मै दत्ते सुपरिपत्तनाधि
 नाथत्वं । प्राग्ज्योतिषाधिराज्यं कालेन नदन्वयस्यापि ॥६॥ तस्या
 न्वये भूत्क्षितिपालमौलिमाणिक्यरोचिस्फुरितांघ्रिपीठः । प्राग्ज्यो
 तिषेशः क्षतवैरिवीरः प्रालम्भ इत्यद्भुतनामधेयः ॥७॥ स पूर्व
 नृपतिगुणसम्बन्धौघरागानुरंजितदिगन्तःसालस्तम्बप्रमुखैः श्रीहरि
 षान्तैर्महीपालैः दिवमारूढैराद्यस्य भूभुजोर्थैकवैरिवीरोभूत् ॥८॥
 आताशौर्यत्यागैरसन्मानान्नारथोतिनृपः । श्रीजीवदेतिसंज्ञारा
 ज्ञी हृदयानुगाभवत्तस्य ॥९॥ वज्रजनवन्द्यामहतः प्रभातसन्ध्येवा
 तेजसोजननी । तस्यास्तस्थतुराज्ञः सुतोभवन्नृपशिरोर्चितांघ्रियुगः ।
 श्रीहजरोनृपेन्द्रः श्रिया स्वयं यः समुपगूढः ॥१०॥ धर्मप्रवादिषु
 युधिष्ठिरो यो भीमोरिवर्गे समरे च जिष्णुः । एकोप्यनेकैरिति संग
 तो यो निःशेषकञ्चीतनयत्वमेतः ॥११॥ गोपीजनानन्दितमानसस्य
 हेष्ट्येव वक्षः परिहृत्य विष्णोः । निःशेषरामाजनदेहसंस्थमादाय
 सौन्दर्यमिहाजगाम ॥१२॥ वर्णाद्यशेषगुणजातमयम्बभार पत्युर्म
 मातुलवलस्य रथांगपाणेः । तेनाहमयमहिषीजगतीभुजोस्यभूता
 जनेन खलु लाघवमभ्युपैमि ॥१३॥ इति यस्य महादेवी विलोक्य
 मनोनुगाभवच्छ्रमीः श्रीमत्ताराभिधानाप्रमदारत्नोत्तमा नृपतेः ।
 तस्याशेषक्षितिपमुकुटोद्घृष्टपादाव्जपीठस्याभूत् सूनुर्नृपगुणमहा
 रत्नमालाविभूषः । तस्यां देव्यामखिलभुवनानन्दको यः शशीव
 श्रीमान् ख्यातो जगति वनमालाभिधानः क्षितीशः ॥१४॥ जल
 निधितटवनमालासीमावधिमेदिनी पतित्वस्य योग्य इति नाम
 धाताचक्रे वनमाल इति यस्य ॥१५॥ प्रवला राति मत्तेभघटा
 ध्वान्तोरुसंघतिं । दिवाकरायितं येनविदार्यरणभूमिगां ॥१६॥ क्षि
 तितनयनृपतिवंशप्रभवनरेन्द्रामलाग्वरेयेन । स्फुटमेव मृगांकायितम
 त्यायारातितिमिरौघं ॥१७॥ भूरिदुर्गरिपुवीरवाहिनीशैलवज्रमुह

विक्रमासिना । येन राजकमशेषमस्यताश्रीरकारिचिरमेकभर्तृका ॥
 १८॥ यस्य प्रतापभीत्या वज्ररिपुजयिनोपि मेदिनीपालाः । केचि
 द्विशो विजयजः प्रसभमालयाम्वराण्यन्ये ॥१९॥ राज्ञामन्येषां ये
 निशितानाजाविषून्नृपा मुमुचुः । यस्मात्ततो विभीत्या भूमिं दूरंनि
 जाते विजयः ॥२०॥ यैरभिमुखंरिपूणामाघटितं मत्तकरिघटाटोपैः
 । विक्रमैकहेतोस्तैर्यस्यांजलयः कृताः क्षितिपैः ॥२१॥ धूर्हेनङ्गष्य

काक्षा

येन पतितंकालान्तरादालयंसौधंभक्तिनवाखिलामरवरत्रातार्चितां
 धेः पुनः । प्रालेयाचलशृंगतुंगमतुलयामेभवेश्याजनैर्युक्तं हेतुकशूलिनः
 क्षितिभुजाभक्त्या नवं चक्रषा ॥२२॥ यस्यानन्तद्युतिमत्तिसितानाग
 लोकेहसन्तीदिङ्नागानां श्वसितजनितां शीकरालीं च दिक्ष । सं
 पूर्णेन्दोर्व्वियति विमलामंशुमालां विचित्रां राज्ञोनल्पाविचरतितरां
 कीर्त्तिरद्याप्यजस्रं ॥२३॥ सत्यगाम्भीर्य्यतुंगत्वप्रतापत्यागविक्रमैः ।
 योजयन्धर्मजाव्यद्रिभानुकर्णमरुत्सुतान् ॥ यस्य यशः शशिनैदं
 भुवनं धवलीकृतं विलोक्य दृशासत्रीर इवोदेति प्रालेयमरीचिरद्या
 पि ॥२४॥ देवागारं वाद्यगीतप्रणदैनानारामान् सचिणां व्याहृतौ
 च । गायन्त्यद्याप्यवजरम्याः खवाप्पो देशे देशे शालिनीं यस्यकीर्त्तिं
 ॥२५॥ वज्रहेमरौप्यगजवाजिमहीप्रमदादिरत्ननिचयं वज्रशः । प्रद
 दवारमनिशं निगदं प्रमिताक्षरोपि वज्रवागभवत् ॥ प्रप्रीतसमस्त
 वर्णाश्रमादपरिमितशुभगसाधुविद्वज्जनाधिष्ठानाद्विचित्रगजतुरग
 शिविकाभिरूढैर्महानरपतिभिरवनिपतिसेवार्थं गच्छद्भिःप्रत्यागच्छ
 द्भिश्चसद्वलमहाराजमागादसंख्यगजतुरगपदातिसाधननिरन्तरनिर
 द्वासकलदिगन्नरादुदयवेलाचलोत्थितोत्तुंगतरुशकुनविश्रान्तमत्तव
 र्हिणकेकारवोद्भ्रान्नभुजगत्रातमुक्तफुत्कारप्रकम्पितानेकताविगलित
 कुसुमनिकरपरिमत्तसुरभिसलिलेनतदुपवनलग्रदावानलदह्यमान
 कालागुरुधूमसम्भवाम्बुधरवृन्दसुगन्धिजलौघप्रवाहिणा । उदयतटम
 हीधरोपवनगन्धिपूर्णांकुरभुजाङ्कचित् स्वयंमृतानामन्यत्रप्रणयव

न्मुकुलयूथानामपरत्रतृणसंघविनिहताद्भक्षितमांसोज्जितानां क
 स्तूरिकामृगाणांमदगन्धेनमोदितसकलतीरोपकण्ठनिवासिजनपदे
 नसकलसुरासुरमुकुटमणिमयूखमंजरीरंजितचरणपीठाभ्यां श्रीकामे
 श्वरमहागौरीभट्टारिकाभ्याभधिष्ठितशिरसः कामकूटगिरेः सतत
 नितम्बचालनादधिकतरपवित्रपयःसम्पूर्णस्रोतसा । मज्जद्विला
 सिनीकुचकलशतटाश्लिष्टमदपंकाविलसुगन्धाम्भसा । वेण्यंगणाभि
 रिव नानाभरणशोभितप्रकटावयवाभिर्वालकुमारिकाभिरिव कण्ठ
 किंकिणीभिः कार्णाटीभिरिव कठिनाभिधातसम्बद्धितवेगाभिर्वार
 खीभिरिव चामरधारिणीभिर्दशवदनान्तःपुरिकाभिरिवरुषितस
 न्ततदशनाभिः पवनकामिनीभिरिवात्यन्तवेगवतीभिः रमणीयदलु
 ह्रांगणाभिरिव सकलजनमनोहारिणीभिर्नटीभिरिव नर्तकपुरुषाक्र
 मणसम्बद्धितोत्कम्पाभिर्दुर्गतदेवपालिभिरिव सततोत्तानस्थानका
 मिनीभिरलंघतोभयतीरोपान्तदेशेन श्रीलोहित्यभट्टारकेण सनाथ
 श्रीहरयेशनात् सपरममाहेश्वरो मातापितृपादानुध्यातपरमेश्वर
 परायणचित्तको महाराजाधिराजश्रीवनमालदेवः कुशलीः * वभूव
 शाण्डिल्यकुलप्रदीपो वेदार्थविद्विज्जटनामधेयः । सांगंयजुर्वेदम
 धीतवान् यस्त्यागी शुचिर्देवगणोपपन्नः ॥ शौचविप्रगुणोपेता पत्नी
 सभ्रायिकाभिधा ब्राह्मणेण विधिनासभ्यक् परिणीताकुलोद्भवा सूनु
 स्तयोर्वेदविद्यजन्मा इन्दोकनामा गुणवान्वरिष्ठः । तस्मै ददौ
 श्रीवनमालदेवो ग्रामं स्वमातापितृपुण्यहेतोः ॥ त्रिस्रोतायाः पश्चि
 मतः सजलस्थलसंयुतं अभिशूरवाटकाख्यमष्टसीमापरिच्छदं ॥ पूर्वे
 णदशलांगसभसीमापूर्वदक्षिणेनचन्द्रपरिसभसीमा दक्षिणेन अवा
 रिसभसीमा । दक्षिणपश्चिमेन पुष्करिणीसभसीमा पश्चिमेननौकुवा
 सभसीमा ॥ उत्तरपूर्वेणदशलांगलसभसीमा अष्टौसीमापरिच्छदाः ॥
 सम्बत् १९ छभिकाकच्छि ॥

चक्रम्पेतीर्णलौहित्ये तस्मिन् प्राग्ज्योतिषेश्वरः । तद्गजालानतां
प्राप्तैः सहकालागुरुद्रुमैः । न प्रसेहे स रुद्रार्कमनश्चमयदुर्दिनं । रथ
वेगरजोप्यस्य कुत एव पताकिनीं । तमीशः कामरूपाणां मत्वाख
ण्डलविक्रमं । भेजे भिन्नकठेर्नागैरन्यानुपरोध यैः ॥ कामरूपेश्वर
स्तस्य हैमपीठाधिदेवतां । रत्नपुष्पोपहारेण च्छायामानर्चपादयोः ।

श्रीमद्भागवतदशमस्कन्धनवपंचाशत्तमाध्याये

राजोवाच । यथाहृतो भगवता भौमो येनच ताः स्त्रियः । निरुद्धाच
तदाचक्ष्व विक्रमं शार्गधन्वनः । शुक उवाच ॥ इन्द्रेण कृतक्रेण कृत
कुण्डलबन्धुना । ऊतामराद्रिस्थानेन ज्ञापितो भौमचेष्टितं । इत्या
दिना प्राग्ज्योतिषाधिपभूमिपुत्रनरकासुरवधो वर्णितः

अत्र प्रथमः श्लोकः स्वर्धरा तत्तृतीयचरणे अभ्यः क्रीरदित्युत्तरं
अक्षरत्रयं नास्ति तत्रसुभूषेति दत्त्वा पूरितं । एतन्मध्ये सर्वत्र डका
रस्थाने रेफः तद्देशीयानां डकारोच्चारणसामर्थ्याभावात् यथोच्चारणं
तथालिखनं । शेषे त्रिस्त्रोताया इति तत् कर्तुं भ्रान्तिः त्रिस्त्रोतस
इतिसाधुः । प्राग्ज्योतिषाधिपस्य वनमालवर्मणोराज्ञो गंगातीरेऽपि
अधिकारः स्थितः गङ्गातीरे यागं कृत्वा याज्ञिकाचार्याय गंगा
पश्चिमतटे भूमिदानं कृतं ताम्रशासनेन भूमिदानं हि यागदक्षिणा
रूपमेव प्रसिद्धं वर्णितं च शिशुपालवधादौ ॥

आदिवराहात् भूमेः पुत्रोभूत् नरकः स कृष्णेन हतः तस्य पुत्रौः
भगदत्तवज्रदत्तौ नरकपत्न्याः करुणायुतरोदनेन करुणहृदयः
कृष्णो भगदत्ताय प्राग्ज्योतिषाधिपतित्वं ददौ प्राग्ज्योतिषा
धिपस्य भगदत्तस्य वंशे प्रालम्भः प्राग्ज्योतिषाधिपोभवत् । तस्य
पत्नीजीवदा राज्ञीजीवदायां प्रालम्भादजनिहजरः तस्य पत्नीतारा
तयोः पुत्रो वनमालदेवः ॥

Literal Translation, by Pundit SARODA PROSAD CHUCKERBUTTY.

SUCCESS.

1. May the Louhetya Sindha, (Brahmaputra river) wherein the fish are abundantly supplied with water, and whose stream is ruddy with the dashing spray, turbid with golden mud mingled with ice, splashing up as the waves fall on the golden rocks of the beautiful *Kailasha* mountain, ruddy too with the heavenly flowers dropped from the hair and hands of the goddesses who come down to sport therein, protect you !

2. May the *Pinákapáni* (*Siva*) on whose head the *Gangá* waters cast up by the wind, are, as it were, the stars on the firmament, sanctify you !

3. The first *Baráha* (the incarnation of the Boar) had a son named *Naraka*, from the Earth (his wife), at the time of her delivery ; who (*Naraka*) robbed *Aolite* of her earrings,* and *Harí* (*Indra*) of his power.

4. *Krishna* having slain him (*naraha*) felt excessive grief by the lamentations of his wife, and could not therefore refrain from creating his two sons, named *Bhagadatta* and *Vajradatta*.

5. *Bhagadatta* ; who was modest, having succeeded to the guddee of *Prágjyotisha*, (*Kamroop*) devoted himself to the adoration of him (*Krishna*) the supreme Deity.

6. *Krishna* being pleased with him, made him master of another good territory ; but in time the sovereignty of *Prágjyotisha* was after him governed by his posterity alone.

7. From his line was born *Prálambha*, whose name was wonderful to all. He was the Lord of *Praqjyotisha*, and destroyer of his enemies. His footstool was illuminated by the light of the crest-jewels of all *Rájás*.

8. He was against those who were enemies to his ancestors from *Sálastambha* down to *Sriharisha*, who are all deceased, and who, with all their noble and royal qualities, delighted all the extreme regions.

9. His (*Prálambhá's*) brother, greatest of all *Rajas*, abandoned his valour with indignation, but not his car (? indignantly resigned the fight, yet left not his car ?)

10. His queen, named *Jivadá*, was dearly beloved by him ; like *Prabhata Sandhyá*, (morning twilight) she was *vándyá*† of all, and the source of great *tejas*.‡

11. From her he (*Prálambhá*) had a son named *Hajara*, who was the king of kings, and was embraced by *Lakshmi* (the goddess of fortune) herself, and whose feet were worshipped by every *Raja*.

12. He (*Hajara*) was like *Yúdhísthira* in truth ; like *Bhima* to his enemies ; and like *Jishnú* (*Arjuna*) in battle ; who,§ though alone, yet was victorious over all his rivals that stood against him.

* Note.—Particularly described in the *Sreemutt Bhagavut*, ch. 59.

† The word *Vandyá* when connected with *morning*, means adorable, and praiseworthy, as applied to the queen.

‡ *Tejas* has two meanings ; the *light* and *spirit*, or vigour, or vigorous persons ; the former relates to the word morning, and the latter to the queen.

§ This sentence is applicable to both *Arjuna* and the *Rájá*.

13. Lakshmí being as it were disliked by Vishnú (her husband) whose mind was in love with the Gopás (the wives of the cowherds) forsook his breast and came down to this individual with all the personal beauty of her sex.

14. This Lakshmí, as it were, determined in her mind that "because this conqueror is possessed of all personal beauty, as well as noble qualities of my husband (Vishnu), who has matchless might and a car-wheel or his hand, I shall surely become his chief queen, though I shall undergo degradation."

15. Lakshmí having ascertained this, as above, transformed herself into his chief and beloved queen, whose name was *Tárá*, and who was like a jewel of superior quality among all the females of her time.

16. From her (*Tárá*) he (*Hajara*) had a son named *Vanamála*, the king, who was prosperous, renowned, like the moon the source of the universal delight, and adorned with the jewel-wreath of all noble and royal qualities, and his footstool was borne by the crowns of numerous *Rájás*.

17. Because he was the worthy master of the territories that extended as far as the *Vanamála* (lines of forest) near the seashore, the Creator caused him to be named *Vanamála*.

18. He (*Vanamála*) resembled the *Sun* in the field of battle, by reason of his driving forth the darkness of the furious elephants of his vanquished foes.

19. Further, he was like the moon on the clear sky of the *Naraka* line, from which were sprung many kings, by removing the darkness of his enemies

20. He (*Vanamála*) who had by the force of his mighty scymetar been expelling all the *Rájás*, who were like thunder to the mountains of the powerful army of their respective enemies, made *Sree* (*Lakshmi*) the wife* of one husband.

21. Some *Rájás*, who though they were conquerors of their many rivals, yet from the fear of *Vanamála*'s power took refuge with precipitation in extreme regions, and others in the heavens†.

22. The rest, who were forward to throw their sharp shafts over him in battle, far abandoned their lands in consternation.

23. The enemies who were gallantly forward in battle with their elephants, were subdued by him.

24. He who was devoted to (the gods?) bore the burthen of *Nakusha* (a *Rájá* of antiquity) by his faithfully repairing the fallen and the *Himála*-like lofty palace of *Hetuka Sulin* (the *Siva* of destruction) whose feet are worshipped by the multitude of gods, at *Kálántara*—and further, by adorning it with the images of domesticated elephants‡ and fair women.

25. His fame, which is whitest of all, exists in the regions of the serpents (*Tragaloka*) ever laughing to scorn (even) its eternal

* Solely dependent on one, i. e. the king *Vanamála* himself; the meaning being, that he stayed the fickleness of fortune (*Lakshmi*) by the continuance of his success.

† Departed their lives.

‡ Note.—Literally "village elephants."

splendour, in extreme regions (surpassing in whiteness) the water cast off from the trunks of elephants with their long breathings, and in the firmament (deriding) the spotless and pleasant beams of the moon full in her digits.

26. He by his truth, gravity, greatness, power, liberality, and might, had far overcome the *Dharma*, (*Yúdhisthera*) the sea, the mountain, the sun, *Karna* the king, and the son of *Maruta* (*Bhima*).

28. The moon finding this world whitened by the moon of his fame, takes her rise as if with shame* even to this day.

29. The wife† of *Abja* (*Brahmá*) who‡ is like an oblong pond on the firmament, as it were, sings his extended fame (praise) in Devene temples, to the sounds of musical instruments and songs, and in groves by the utterance of prayers and hymns of sacrificers.

30. Large quantities of gold, elephants, horses, lands, wives,§ silver, and jewels were his usual gifts: and he, though very moderate of speech, yet was himself *Valubák*.||

Because he gratified the appetites of the people of all classes, and was himself in company with the learned, numbers of most mighty *Rájás* had been constantly coming to him, mounted on their various elephants, horses, and litters, to pay the respects due to his highness. To *Vanamala*, who was skilful, the king of kings, very rich, and devoted to the feet of his parents, and whose mind was attached to the supreme Deity, was *Louhitya Sindhú* the sage¶ as a friend.

Its water was made fragrant with the scent arising from the flowers dropped from the creeping plants moved by the long drawn breathing of the serpents, startled at the cries of the wild peacocks and various other birds reposing on the lofty trees of the eastern mountain, while all sides were occupied by the numerous elephants, horses, and foot soldiers of *Vanamala*.

Further, its streams were intermixed with the odorous water of the clouds, composed of the gashes of the *Káláguru* trees (black aloë wood) burning by the conflagration of its adjacent groves.

The inhabitants near its banks were all delighted with the smell arising from the musk of the deer, which were in different places collected, grazing on the fragrant pastures of the Eastern mountain, and further of those that were in many places killed by the wolves, as well as by *Nature*, and were left unconsumed thereon.

Further, its streams were more sacred than those of others, from their continually washing the sides of the mount *Kámakúta*, which is inhabited on its tops by *Kámeswara* (a Siva) and *Mahá Gouri* (his wife) whose footstools are brightened with the crown jewels of all the *Súras*

* The black spots that are generally visible in her, are usually described by poets as the marks of her disgrace and shame.

† *Saraswatí*.

‡ I cannot conceive what the poet means by this metaphor.

§ By his giving wives, is meant that it was his custom to assist those with expenses whom the want of money rendered unable to marry.

|| This word is of two meanings, one who talks much, and of whom men speak much.

¶ Here the river is personified as a sage. In Sanscrit the river *Brahmaputra* is said to have been a *male river*.

(gods) and the *Asuras*. And moreover it was turbid with the odorous substances which were besmeared over and washed from the high breasts of the bathing lovely females, and adorned on both the banks with boats or ships; which (boats or ships) were like the Velxá* females, adorned† with various ornaments; like female children ornamented with sonorous *kiukini*† (a girdle set with small bells);—like Várastrís (courtezans) holding‡ *chámara* (chowrees);—like the wives of Dashavadana (Rávana) bearing the marks of Dashana§ (teeth) round them;—like the Kámínis (wives) of Pavana (the god of wind) possessed of Vega|| (swiftness);—like the women of Danuhánga (a nation) attractive of all minds; ¶ and like Devapális (inferior gods) ever existent above,* and whose (boats) Vega is *samvardhita*, (augmented or inflamed) like that of the Carnatic females by Kathínábhigáta‡.

Further, their *U'tkampa*‡ is augmented like that of the girls dancing with their male companions.

There was a person named Bhíjjata, who was the illuminator of the Sándelya line,—liberal,—pious,—devoted to the gods, and studious in Yajúrveda, and its angas§ (subordinate parts.) His wife named *Sabhráyeká*, who was pious, endowed with all the Brahmanical qualities, and descended from a respectable family, was married to him according to the *Bráhma Vídhí*.

To their son, who was himself a priest studious in the Vedas, possessed of noble qualities, and superiority, and whose name was *Indoka*, the king Vanamala has granted the village named *Abhíssúra-vátaka*, which is furnished with fertile lands, and the reservoirs of water, and the undermentioned eight boundaries on the west of *Trísrota* (the Ganga-river) for the virtue of his parents.

* Name of a tribe. This Veshísana (adjective) is to be applied to both the boats and the females.

† Oars at that time were generally bound with *Kinkínis* round them, as are now the paddles of snake boats.

‡ Boats and ships had always been at that time beautified with *chamaras* and flags, &c.

§ The persons of the wives of Rávana, who had ten mouths, bore the marks of as many lines of teeth. This when relating to the boats means that the earrings thereon were visible like the marks of teeth.

|| This is applicable to both the boats and the wives of Ravana.

¶ The boats were so beautiful that they were pleasing to all.

* Here the word *above*, means above the surface of *water* when connected with the boats, and *sky* when with the gods.

† Here the words *Vega* and *Kathínábhigáta* are both of two meanings. The former means amorous *lustre* and *speed*—and the latter *strong embrace* and *haste*, when they are in turn connected with the females and the boats.

‡ *U'tkampa*, when relating to the girls, means a motion used in dancing; and tremulous motion when relating to the boats; i. e. when the boats are danced on by men, they appear as if were dancing themselves too by the pressure of those moving on them.

§ The Angas are as follow:—*Síkshá*, or the science of pronunciation, and articulation; *Kalpa* the detail of religious ceremonies; *Vyákarana* or grammar; *C'hhandas* prosody; *Jyotish* or astronomy; and *Nirúkti* or the explanation of the difficult or obscure words, or phrases that occur in the Vedas.

A mode of marriage, the presentation of the bride, elegantly adorned, by the father to the bridegroom whom he has invited.

It is bounded on the west by *Dashalangasabha*; on the south-east by *Chandra*, on the west by *Nakuvasava*, and on the north-east by *Dashalangala Sabhasa*.—Samvat. 19.

Abstract Lineage of Vanamala. By Pundit KAMALAKANTA.

The first Baraha had a son named Naraka from the earth (his wife;) Naraka had two sons named Bhaga-datta and Vajra-datta, and was himself slain by *Krishna*, who being affected by the mournings of his wife, made Bhaga-datta her son king of Pragjyotisha.

From his line descended Pralambha, who also succeeded to the Guddee of Pragjyotisha.

From his queen, whose name was Jivada, was born Hajara, who also had named *Vanamala* from *Tará* his wife.

NOTE *By Pundit KAMALAKANTA.*

Three letters of the third quarter next to the words *Armbhakrirat* of the first Sloka, which is in the Sragdhára C'handa, have been obliterated, the three letters Súbhusha are placed in lieu of them.

Here the reason of inserting *ra* in the place of *rha* is, that the inhabitants of that place (of Assam) can not with ease pronounce the latter, and therefore they are liable to make use of the former (*ra*) both in their speaking and writing.

At the end the word *Tresrotáyá*, which is the mistake of the writer, should be *Tresrotasa*, as Vanamála was himself master of even the territories situated on the banks of Gangá [it is probable] he personally went there, and after performing sacrifices granted lands to *Yágnekáchárya* on its western bank.

Granting lands with *Támrasasána* is said to have been reward of *yága* [ceremonies.]

All this is described also in *Sisupalavadha* [the work in which the death of Sisupala is described.]

Note on the above.

The early history of those tracts on the banks of the Brahmapootra which lie to the north-east of Bengal, and which are now for the most part either forest land, tenanted only by wild animals, or wastes partially reclaimed and inhabited by tribes nearly as wild as the beast of the forest, is unfortunately involved in singular obscurity. The soil of Assam Proper is of great fertility, its products are numerous, and the results of the industry of the inhabitants and of settlers, encouraged and fostered by the equitable rule, and efficient protection of the British Government, prove that the land is capable of supporting the densest population. The character of the extensive hilly country between Assam, and Cachar, and Muni-pore, would appear to be not dissimilar; and we in fact have the strongest proof that the whole of these tracts were at a former period thickly inhabited by a people far advanced in civilization. The immense earth works which traverse Assam forming at once dams for the retention of water, and commodious roads across the flooded country, the extensive ruins in Chardwar, (Jour. As. Soc. vol. iv. No. 40, April 1835,) the remains of the ancient city of Dhemapoor, in the Naga country, are not the only proofs extant of the power, wealth, and energy of the former inhabitants of these tracts. It is however very unfortunate that among the numerous remains already discovered, no inscriptions have been found, which could lead to conclusions as to their real history. Capt. Westmacott (formerly Assistant to the Governor General's Agent on the North East Frontier) has indeed in the able paper above alluded to, sketched from tradition, and such records as are extant, a history of the early monarchs who ruled at Pora in Chardwar; but as regards the general history of the country, we have little that can be looked upon as authentic. "The very numerous remains of stone temples," says Major Jenkins in a letter to me, "all completely overthrown (except some of quite modern date, erected out of the ancient structures) speak of long periods of prosperity, and great revolutions of which we are entirely ignorant. From one of the temples at Hajoo being frequented by pilgrims from all parts of Thibet, and Tartary, I imagine the Boodhist faith formerly prevailed in Assam, and this may account in part for the destruction of the temples. That faith was succeeded perhaps by the

Brahminical under the Pals (i. e. the Pal dynasty); they were swept away by the Koches, who probably were not Hindoos till they ceased to be conquerers, as was the case with the Ahoms, who with the Mahometans then contended for Kamroop, and both perhaps destroying the temples which fell into their power." I am strongly inclined to concur with Major Jenkins in the opinion he expresses as to the probable prevalence of Boodhism in Assam at an early period; its supercession by Hindoo invaders; and the consequent destruction of the temples now extant. The following extracts from the Mahabharat, and Roghuvanso, are of authority, as proving the early power of the Rajas of Prajyotisha, and their early wars. I owe both these quotations to Pundit Sarodhaposad.

The following stokas as quoted from the 4th chapter of Roghuvanso.

"81st. While Roghú crossed the river Louhitya Sindhu (Brahmaputra) the king *Prajyotisha* (Kámroop) as well as the *kálágúrú* trees* to which were tied the elephants of Roghú — trembled.

82nd. How could he (the king of Prajyotisha) stand forth against the advancing army of Roghú, when he could not withstand the rising vast dust of his cars which entirely covered the sun, and were like a day dark with clouds, but without shower.

83rd. Him (to Roghú) who surpassed Akhandala (Indra) in power, the king of Kámárupa visited with all his elephants, which were exuding juice from their temples, (i. e. they were in a state of fury) and which he invaded others with. The king of Kámárupa worshipped the shadow of the feet of Roghú, the ruling deity, of his footstool with the flowers of valuable jewels.

Mahábhárat Bhisma vahda Parava, Section 75.

प्राग्ज्योतिषस्तु संहितो मद्रसौबीर केकयैः
उरस्यभून्नरश्रेष्ठ महत्यासेनया वृतः ॥

O superior to man, the king of Prágjyotisha is on the centre of the entrenchment attended with *Madra*, *Souvéra*, and *Kékaya*, and his numerous army.

Section 112.

ततः प्राग्ज्योति घो राजा माघवस्यमहद्वनुः
चिच्छेदशितधारेण भर्त्सनवृत्तहस्तवत् ॥

Then the Rája of Prajyotisha cut off the large bow of Madhava with his sharp bhalla (a species of spear).

Amid the uncertainty I have described above, it is gratifying to find something in the shape of documentary evidence, speaking to a direct historical fact, as in the case of the copper plate which Captain Jenkins has enabled me to present to the readers of the Journal. With this, and the other plate purporting to be a grant by Dhurmpal, we have two documents bearing respectively the dates 19 and 36 of an unknown æra. I will endeavour to prove that this æra must have been the one adopted by the Hindoo conquerors of Assam as their own; a fact which would strongly corroborate the more than plausible supposition that the former possessors of the land whom they subdued, were Boodhists, or at any rate of a different faith from their own.

For this purpose however I must in the first instance express my reason for differing with the opinion which would, I think, destroy the local application of the æra, the idea namely that the grant now before us related to lands *on the banks of the Ganges*, or real *Gunga*, an opinion which it will be seen is held by Kamalakanta, as also by other capable authorities whom I have consulted. My views could not be better expressed than in the following extract from a note addressed to me in answer to a reference on the subject by one of our members, Baboo Prosunno Comar Takoor :—

* The black aloe wood.

“ With reference to your note with its enclosures on the subject of the Assam

- (1) তাম্রপত্র Tamba Putur, (1) containing grants of land on the banks of the Ganges, (2) I have much pleasure in communicating my thoughts on the subject, and which I hope will clear up the mystery,

namely how the Rajah of Assam could grant lands on the banks of the Ganges.

“ It appears from Captain Jenkins’ letter, that the grants were discovered near the station of Tezapore, in the Durrung division, and that those grants specified the lands as

- (3) বুদ্ধান্তর ‘Burmutter’ (3) by ‘ Dharmopala’; (4) and each grant with the prefix of the figure of Ganesa(5). You will find on referring to

- (4) ধর্মপাল Dr. M’Cosh’s Topography of Assam, page 93, that ‘the northern central Assam, or Durrung, or Tezapore, (the place of the discovery of the grants) is bounded from Nowdowar on

the east by the river *Burili*.’ Here is the mystery. The river *Burili* is called in the language of the country *Bhurili*(6), and the sacred name for the same river is *Vasishty Gunga*,(7) or Ganges,

- (6) ভুরিলি which you will be able to ascertain from the learned people of

- (7) বাশিষ্টিগঙ্গা that country through Captain Jenkins. Thus the land alluded to in the grant must be on the banks of *this* Ganges; and *not* of *ours*. Gunga, corruptly called Ganges, is not the exclusive name for our river. For instance, the latter should properly be called Bhagirutty-Gunga.(8) And there are others, such as

(8) ভাগীরথীগঙ্গা Shutu-Gunga(9) in Orissa, Boory-Gunga,(10) at Dacca, Tool-

- (9) শ্বেতগঙ্গা see-Gunga(11) at Rungpore, and so on, in various places.

- (10) বুড়ীগঙ্গা And the Sanscrit writers of the grants and Sanscrit authors, particularly on the occasion of compiling poetical compositions,

- (11) তুলসীগঙ্গা for the sake of metre, emphatically omit the proper epithets applied to the word Ganges. This may account for the word Ganges being used in the grants with the omission of the adjective *Vasishty*.

“ The inference of the grants of the land being on the banks of the *Vasishty Gunga*, and not on ours, is further supported by the name of the granter, namely, Dharmapala. This sovereign of Assam was distinguished for having embraced the Bhraminical

- (12) বুদ্ধাণ religion, and invited Brahmins(12) from Gour(13) to his court north of the Burrampooter, and also from Mithelâ(14) to colonise in his country. Thus it is quite natural that from the

- (13) গৌড় veneration in which he held the ministers of his new religion, he granted to them, and generally to colonists of the same sect,

- (14) মিথিল lands free of rent, which accounts for the three grants discovered near Durrung, situated *likewise* on the north side of the Burrampooter; and many others may be found in time. It may be conjectured that the monarch had his capital situated in the vicinity of Tezapore, perhaps in some place near or at Chardwar, being one of the four divisions of Durrung, as we still find the ruins of ancient temples and other edifices on that spot (vide Journal of the Asiatic Society, April 1835, page 185.)”

I perfectly concur in thinking that this explanation relieves us of the necessity of supposing Vanamala to have possessed lands on the banks of the real Gunga, (carrying thus into Bengal Proper the name of a ruler, and an æra unknown there), and further of being compelled to admit a violation of the rule, which all experience of the discovery of ancient copper grants teaches us, namely, that the *Tamba patur* is invariably found upon the land to which its contents relate.

Taking Hujara, or Vanamala, as a Raja ruling only in Chardwar and its vicinity, we have next to trace his existence with reference to what of history is still extant as regards the ancient Assamese dynasties. The late Captain Pemberton, whom I consulted on this point, was of opinion that what Mr. James Prinsep, (Useful Tables, p. 118) calls the Induvansa dynasty, “ though,” to use Captain Pemberton’s words, “ it should have been the Ahom, or Ahong dynasty, and not Indu,” was to be found in the list composing the Pal dynasty, commencing with Chukapha in 1230 A. D. “ There can be no doubt that this race of kings by whom the conquest of Assam was effected in the thirteenth century crossed the mountains known as the *Pal kole*, or *Pal* mountains, which separate Assam from the mountainous region on the western frontier of China, near the sources of the Irawaddee river of Ava, and we may fairly conclude that the term *Pal* has

been applied to them from the circumstance of their having first poured down upon the plains of Assam from the passes of the *Pal* mountains. Certain it is, that they were a branch of the great Shan tribe which under various modifications occupies the whole tract of country between Muni-pore and Yunon, extending down to Siam."

There is, I think, little doubt but that the so-called Induvansa dynasty were the Ahom conquerors, (though not A. D. 1230) of Assam; but they cannot be identical with the Pals, because we have before us evidence of Dhurmpal's being a Hindoo Raja, and we know that neither were the Ahoms in fact Hindoos, nor could they be so, coming whence they did; there is moreover no trace of Hindoo religionism among their descendants. Putting this supposition therefore aside, I will take up Captain Jenkins' list of the Pal Rajas, which Mr. James Prinsep seems to have considered in a great measure apocryphal, as he does not insert them in his tables, and indeed notes, with marked incredulity, the tradition of Dhurmapala having brought Brahmins into Assam from Gaur, a fact however proved by the plate granting the Maha Rudra Dewalee, and proved further to have been a practice with his predecessors by Vanamala's grant. In Captain Jenkins' list we have after Ramchundra (a Hindoo?), the word *jaintee*, which Captain J. suggests may allude to the country of Jainteah, but which I am inclined to think has reference to the conqueror (*Jynti*, or *Jytari jy--victory*) who is noted by Captain Westmacott, (Journal Asiatic Society, vol. iv. No. 40) as follows, "Shribahu, ninth sovereign of the second dynasty, was vanquished by Vikramaditya, and was succeeded by *Jytari*, a pious *Chhatri* from the Dekhan, who overcame Kamroop, and on ascending the throne assumed the title of Dharma-pala." Now there is nothing more natural than that a Hindoo leader of the military class, successful in his attack on a foreign land, should be emphatically called *jytari*, "the conqueror," or that having established the religion he professed(?) in the country, he should take a title (*Dharma pala*) expressive of his fosterage of the true faith, giving thence a title to his dynasty, were it not, as I shall show, already peculiar to one whence he sprang. A descendant of his, according to Capt. Westmacott's authority, by name Rama Chundra began his reign A. S. 1160, (A. D. 1238-9) "and is the first prince the date of whose accession is commemorated in the volume," whence the authority is taken, and which makes him twenty-fourth sovereign of part of ancient Kamroop, and the eleventh of the third dynasty of its kings. Chundra Pal, the seventh from Jytari in Capt. Jenkins' list, may be identical with this sovereign, and the notice of the date of his accession, according to the ordinary æra, may have been consequent on his having been the first to abandon the custom of dating by what we may call *the Pal æra*, two dates of which we find on the Assam copper plates, and which must certainly have fallen into disuse at no remote period after its establishment, the dates on the grant being the first notice we have of its existence. Now it is worthy of remark, how well these dates seem to apply to the list of Rajas in Capt. Jenkins' Pal dynasty, allowing the fair average of 12 years to a reign, and beginning with Jytari, its founder. We have after his immediate successor, Japandu Pal, (Prulumbha? v. 7. Sloka of the inscription), the name of Hari (Hujara?) Pal, in whom we may reasonably recognise the Raja surnamed Vanamala, who in the year 19 of the dynasty of which he is third, granted lands to Brahmins on the Vashishty-Gunga; he is immediately followed by Dhumba, or Dhurma Pala, one of whose grants has been found with the date 36 of the Pal æra. Thence to Rama Chundra, or Chundra Pal, we have only *two*, instead of, as should be the case by Capt. Westmacott's authority, *six* Raja's names, and from

Rama Chundra (A. D. 1238) to Sukanangka, or Sukrank, son of Gujanka, or Gujank according to Capt. Westmacott, with whom the Jytari dynasty expired (A. D. 1478), we have 13 Rajas occupying a period of 240 years, at an average reign of 21 years and a fraction, which is rather above the ordinary admitted chronological average. It may however be, that names after, as well before, Ram Chundra, or Chundra Pal, may have been omitted. In any sort, the assignment of a date to the Pal æra in our own must be mainly conjectural; but taking Major Jenkins' list as correct, at the average of 12 years to each reign, from about the death of Jytari, when I suppose the Pal æra to begin, to the accession of Chundra Pal in A. D. 1238, we should have it commence at about A. D. 1178, or, if four additional reigns be admitted, according to Capt. Westmacott, A. D. 1130. It remains for my readers to consider whether they would suppose it likely that Hindooism had been established prior to that in Assam (as the apparently fabulous tradition would go to prove), or whether it is not more correct to conclude, that it made its way into the country about that period.

I need not remark on the confusion of the lists of Rajas. Shubahu, whom Jytari succeeded by conquest, according to one account, is possibly the *Subahu* of Major Jenkins' list, between whom and the conqueror 10 names intervene. It is much, in such absence of authenticity, to arrive, as I trust we have done, at even some approximation to the truth.

I should however omit one most remarkable point regarding the Pal Rajas of Assam, did I fail to note that the Rajas of Bengal (having their capital at Gaur) were themselves a Pal dynasty, and that the name *Dhurma Pala* has been found on two copper plates, the Monghir and Dinajpor plates, which record kings of that race, both evidently referring to the same individual. The date of this potentate is given by Abul Fuzl, A. D. 1027, which differs as regards *Dhurma Pala* from our calculation, and thus, independently of the discrepancies of other names in our present and the former plates, disproves the identity of our *Dhurma Pala* with him of Gaur. Still however it is very plain that a *Pal* Hindoo conqueror of Assam, who brought Brahmins from the capital of that country, must have belonged to that family, though he was, it would I think appear, but a junior branch, or off-shoot from it.

Boodhism therefore was expelled from Assam by Hindoos from Bengal, but I cannot help adding a few more words on the subject of the history of Assam, in order to show that the subsequent Koche and Ahom invasions must have so wholly destroyed the Hindoo dynasties above noted, as to lead to the belief generally entertained among the people of the country of the introduction of that religion into it at a period so recent as the last century. The following comparatively modern inscriptions, which the Society owes to the kindness of Lieut. P. H. Sale (Engineers) are printed without literal translations (although I took care to have them made), as Lieut. Sale's abstract of their contents is quite sufficient for all purposes required. I should mention, that I found Lieut. Sale's letter among the papers made over to me, when I took charge temporarily of the Secretary's duties. His communication, though long unnoticed, has not been made in vain, and its publication will, I trust, lead to his again addressing the Society. His letter is as follows :—

“I beg to send you the accompanying facsimiles of inscriptions, which I took in the neighbourhood of Gowahatty, when I passed through that city in January, 1838. They can lay no claim to antiquity, and I doubt not that I have been forestalled; however, they throw light on the period when Hindooism first extended into the province of Assam. The Kamakhshya temple is said to be the first Hindoo place of worship erected in these parts; the renown of its great sanctity extends far and wide, and many pilgrims seek the purification of their souls at this shrine. The temple is situated on a hill, about 400 feet high; on the ascent to it is a colossal figure of *Betal* carved upon

a large piece of rock, and on the top, near to the great temple, is a figure of Hunooman. At the foot of the hill a small figure of Gunaish is cut on a boulder, by the side of which is the inscription marked No. 1. I perceived no inscriptions on the other stones. No. 2 is an inscription on the Dhol Mundip of the temple named Asakrunta, on the opposite or right bank of the Burrumpooter. No. 3 was taken from a stone by the side of a tank, about two miles from Gowahatti, on the Nowagaon road. The copies on the English paper are the inscriptions within the temple of Kamakhshya, to which I had no access, and were taken for me by the Suddur Ameen, Juggoo Ram Phookaw; all the inscriptions, I believe, are in the Assamese character.

"I might enter into a long description of the picturesque situation of these Mundurs, but it might be out of place, and I shall rest perfectly satisfied, if the copies may prove of the slightest use."

৪ লোকান্ত্ৰহকারকঃ করু
 ৭য়া পার্থো ধন্ববিভূষাদানে
 নাপিদধীচিকর্ণসভ্ৰশোমর্ষ্যাদ
 যান্তোনিধিঃ । নানাশাস্ত্রবিচারচা
 রুচরিতঃ কন্দর্পরূপোজ্বলঃকামা
 থ্যাচরণাচ্চকোবিজয়তে শ্রীমল্লদেবো
 ভূপঃ ॥ প্রাসাদমদ্ৰিহুহিতুশ্চরণা
 রবিন্দভক্ত্যাকরোভুদহুজোবরনীল
 শৈলে । শ্রীশুক্লদেব ইমমুল্লাসিতোপ
 লেনশাকেতুরঙ্গগজবেদশশাঙ্কসংথেঃ ॥
 তসৈবপ্রিয়সোদরঃ ॥ শুথুযশাবীরেন্দুমোলিস্থ
 লীমানিক্য° ভজমানকল্পবিটপী নীলাচলেম
 গুল° । প্রাসাদ° মুনিনাগবেদশশভ্ৰংশাকেশিলারা
 জিভির্দেবীভক্তিমতাস্বরোরচিতবান শ্রীশুক্লপূর্বধ্বজঃ ॥

"If we leave out the ornamental parts of the poetry (being praises of the princes and the goddess) the inscription informs us that the principal temple of Kámakhya has been built by Shukla Diva and Shukla Dhwaja, the younger brothers of Malladiva (the king of Behar) in 1487. Equivalent to 1566 A. D."

শ্রীরামঃ

স্বস্তিশ্রীসুরাস্বরবিন্দিতম
 হিষাস্বরমর্দিত পীতরুধি
 রোম্মন্তষোগিনীগণাস্তগণি
 তবান্দিত্রনস্তিতশ্রীশ্রীকামা
 থ্যাদেবীদোলনাতিবিনোদ
 বিলাসায় ধৈর্যগাভীর্যবীৰ্য্য
 বিবিধদানবিতরণকল্পক্রম

সমভূপালচুড়ামণিকামাখ্যা
 চরণপরায়ণস্বর্গেশবঙ্সাব
 তংসত্রীশ্রীপ্রমত্তসিংহমহারা
 জাধিরাজাজ্জয়া শ্রীতরুণচ
 বরাহহংফুক্কনেন নীলগি
 রৌমিদ্ধকামেশমথেকেদা
 রক্ষেত্রেফতগুংসবদোলোয়
 মকারিনেত্রগোত্রসাবনি
 শাকে ১৬ ৭২

“This inscription states, that by order of Shwurgu Diva Pramatta Singha, the king of Assam (his viceroy or Navab) Taruna Duvara Bara Phukkan, built the Doljatra mandap of Kamakhya in Shakabon 1672. Equivalent to 1751 A. D.”

শ্রীরামঃ

“৭ স্মৃতিস্মরহরচরণস্মরণবলিতপ্রাজ্যরাজ্যলক্ষ্মী
 রক্ষণবিচক্ষণদক্ষিণদৌর্দণ্ডাথপুলাথপুপ্রচ
 পুপ্রতপানলকবলিতবলিতারাতিতিমিরনীতিরত্ব
 রত্নাকরম্পানিকরকিরীটকূটকোটিটকরম্বিত
 পাদপীঠেপ্রবরযশোজিতস্বধাকরপুংরন্দরকু
 লামলকমলদিনকরস্বর্গদেব শ্রীশ্রীমংপ্র
 মত্তসিংহমহীমহেচ্ছাদেশতস্তদীয়চরণস্বর্গ শ্রীপ
 র্ণভূদ্রায়মানপ্রধানপ্রধনসীমনিঃসীমভীমবিক্রম
 গাষ্ঠীর্ষ্যোদার্য্যমর্ষ্যাদাদিগুণগণগরিমমহামহিমা
 ঞ্জমহিতনীতিক্রমস্বর্গাগমনাবধিস্বর্গদেবসেবী
 বংসবিচূষণশ্রীযুক্তরুণচুবরাহহংফুক্কনেন
 ছর্গাসরৌবরমিদমথানিবস্মরসরসেন্দুশাকে

“This inscription (near Ganesha) informs us that by order of Pramatta Singha, the Raja of Assam, (his viceroy or Navab) Taruna Duvara Bara Phukkan, did dig up the Durga Sarobara (or tank of the goddess Durga) in Shakabon 1666. Equivalent to 1747, A. D.

The similarity of the name (No. 1.) *Shukla*, to that of *Chukra Dwaja* (noted in Useful Tables as Raja of Assam in 1621) would lead me to conclude that the persons are identical, especially as the descent of the late Assamese reigning family from that of Cooch Behar is well known, were it not that Mr. Prinsep's date, attested by dates on coins, and that of the inscription, differ by fifty-five years.

Memoir on the Hodésun (improperly called *Kolehan*.)—By Lieut. TICKELL.

(Continued from page 709.)

The Hos villages are in general unpicturesque, owing to their building on high barren spots, where the trees attain no size; they are very irregular, each house being separated and hedged in by itself, with its own little plot for planting maize, til, or tobacco; a street for sappers, generally runs through the village, and in the centre, an open space of turf, shaded by two or three tamarind trees, contains the slabs of stone under which the "rude forefathers of the hamlet sleep." On these stones the people assemble daily to talk or lounge, when there is no work to do in the fields. They scarcely ever build by rivers, preferring the vicinity of some small spring. The beautiful Byturnee, every wind of whose stream would be a subject for the artist's pencil, or the poet's pen, runs its crystal waters through regions of deserted forests, where the vastness of canopying trees, and the luxuriance of wild vegetation, show the richness of the soil; while four or five miles inland, the country is populous and well cultivated. I have never satisfactorily ascertained the reason of this bad taste; but among other causes, I have been told it was for fear of their little children tumbling into the water! Whatever it may be, the open, barren spots they select are more healthy than those selected for beauty would be.

A Hos if he be worth three or four ploughs, lives in a very comfortable manner. The houses of the Moondas and Mankees are substantial and capacious, built so as to enclose a square. The walls are of stout and well joined stockading work, covered with mud, and neatly "leaped" or plastered with cow-dung, or chalk and water. The principal building is commonly ornamented with a verandah (*Pindegee*,) supported on carved wooden pillars, and covered with an excellent thatched roof. It is divided into three compartments—a sleeping room, an eating room, and one for general stowage. Opposite this house, and about thirty paces off, is another of ruder construction, for servants, travellers, or guests, and the flanks are joined by "Byres," or cow-houses, a granary, and often a pig-stye. In the centre of the square generally stands a pigeon-house, built of logs, on high timbers, neatly thatched over. None of their villages are extensive, owing to the dislike they have to congregate together, for fear

of fire or contagious diseases ; so that the crest of almost every rising ground throughout the country, is occupied by a few scattered houses. The nomad tribes of Hos, who inhabit the hilly tracts, are obliged to move every third year, to make fresh clearings in the forest. The soil in these places is very rich for the first sowings, but not being manured, gets exhausted in three or four years.

The Hos wear very little clothing ; even the most opulent among them, who have quantities of cloth and ornaments, prefer keeping their finery shut up at home, for the purpose of adding to the pageantry of their funerals. Their raiment consists of a doputta, (which is gladly thrown off, unless on state occasions) and a neat narrow dhotee, called "Botoé." They wear the hair oiled and combed backward, and fastened in a "toupee" behind, but unlike the Oráous and Moondas of Chota Nagpoor, adorn their heads with no ornaments. The men however are fond of earrings and small beads, or plaited necklaces and bracelets ; most of them also wear charms against snakes, tigers, or diseases, tied round their necks. These the Hindoos in the neighbourhood make a profitable trade of, in selling to them. The women of the lowest order go about in a disgusting state of nudity, wearing nothing but a miserably insufficient rag round the loins, at the same time their breasts and necks are loaded with immense bunches of bead necklaces, of which they are extravagantly fond. They perform the hardest duties in the fields, digging, shovelling, weeding, drawing water, and getting in wood from the jungles. Constant exposure and work renders them prematurely shrivelled and ugly ; the young women and girls of the better classes are however a striking exception. They are well, and at times handsomely dressed, with a tasteful proportion of ornaments, without the stupid shyness and false modesty thought proper among Hindoo women ; they are becoming and decorous in their manners, most pleasing in their looks, and doubly engaging from the frank and confiding simplicity which true innocence alone gives ; some few of them are very pretty, although more roughly cast than Hindoo girls. Their open, happy countenances, snowy white teeth, and robust, upright figures, remind one of Swiss peasant girls. Prostitution is quite unknown among them, and no more restraint is placed on females than in our own country.

The men are fine powerful fellows, and while young, very handsome. The early use of the bow expands the chest and sets the muscles while yet mere boys, and their passion for the chase, which they pursue over their steep and rugged hills, brings their lower limbs into a state of training which the best "Phulwan" of the plains of India might envy.

The Hos are keen sportsmen, a fact which the "Sahéb Lōg" at Chyebassa soon found to their cost; their Manton's and Purdey's, and Westley Richard's, might as well have been left unpurchased, for scarcely a living thing in the shape of game could show itself in the neighbourhood, without the country being up in pursuit. In the quail season, when the "d'han" is cut, every herdsman tending his cattle has his hawk on his fist, besides large parties of youngsters from the villages, who keep close ahead of the cattle, and the instant a quail or partridge rises, the nearest "Reechee" or "Chikra" cuts short his existence. I have frequently, returning home with an empty bag, met parties of them with provoking bunches of dead quail in their hands. On these occasions they would laugh heartily at the success of their system over mine, but generally end by offering me half of their spoils. My retaliation used to be in the snipe (khéts.) These birds, they confessed, their hawks could not overtake, and a successful right and left shot would restore the credit of the "Boondookoo."

From the burning of the grass till the new crop becomes too high, i. e., between January and June, they scour the jungles in large parties, and at uncertain periods, for wilder game, surrounding and driving to a centre the deer and other animals. But the grand meeting is in May, about the "Cheyt Purub," when people of all sects and classes repair to the hills north of Singbhoom. The preliminaries of the "Hankwa" are arranged by ambassadors and emissaries from Singbhoom, the Kolehan, and the Jungle Mehals, and vast multitudes draw in from every quarter, from Sikrbhoom, from near Bankoorah, and Medneepoor, on the east, and from the borders of Chota Nagpoor on the west. On the given day, these crowds, extended in lines, draw towards a common centre, sweeping the Jankeebooroo hills and other ranges which reach from Chota Nagpoor to the Soobernrekha river, separating Tamar from Singbhoom; as the lines approach each other, the slaughter commences. The uproar is difficult to describe, and the scene the wildest imagination can picture. Those deep

secluded vallies, those barely pervious dells, the huge solitary hills tops, buried in one vast sheet of pathless jungle, which except on this annual occasion are never visited by man, now swarm with countless hordes. In front of them the different animals pass and repass, bewildered by opposing hosts. The huge gowers rouse from their noon-day retreats, and stalk with stately steps along the hill side, till infuriated by the increasing din, they rush through the forest, heedless of rock or ravine, and rending the branches in their ponderous flight—the wild buffaloes thunder across, brandishing their immense horns, stamping and wheeling round their young ones ;—the neel gyes gallop past like a charge of cavalry. The stately saumer, the beautiful axis, the barking deer or muntjac, dash along, clearing the copse wood with flying bounds, and suddenly stopping with erect ears and recurved neck, as the tainted gale warns of danger a head. The fairy-like “Orey,” or small red deer, with noiseless feet comes skimming over the tangled underwood, skipping in wild starts to the right and left, and sorely bewildering a host of t’hakoors, rajas, and their body guard, who perched upon mechans, (scaffolds) in vain try to bring their lengthy matchlocks to bear ;—with snort and puff a ‘sounder’ of pigs scurry through. The redoubled uproar from without, draws the attention to something which has excited the beaters. The reeds and grass are seen to wave, as if some bulky form were sliding through them, and at length, loath to leave the haunts which had concealed him so long, out comes the tiger, with a lumping, stealthy trot, crouching to the earth, with ears quivering and turning to catch every sound. He has soon passed on into the leafy depths, from which his hollow growl may be occasionally heard. And last of all, as the peacocks begin to mount into the air, and the jungle fowl with noisy cackle take wing, a loud sonorous grunt or shout ushers in the sturdy old “Bhaloo,” who forced from the friendly shelter of rocks, comes bundling over the ground, and shaking his sides in a heavy gallop, oft stopping, wheeling round, and threatening his enemies. The reports of matchlocks ; the “click” of the arrows striking against trees ; the shouts of the multitude ; the roars, screams, and groans of the animals ; the piping of flutes ; the beating of drums ; the braying of trumpets, reach their climax, and the multitude, composed of all classes and sorts, meet near the raja’s mechan to compare notes of the

sport. Here are the ever-dancing and singing-Sontals, dressed out in flowers and feathers, with flutes ornamented with streamers made of pith; the wild Kurrias, or hill men, from the Luckisinee hills in Borahbhoom; the Koormees, Taunties, Soondces, Gwallas, Bhoo-mijes, &c, with sonorus 'dammas' or kettle drums, and other uncouth music, armed with swords, bulwas, and bows and arrows of every description; the Hos, simple and unpretending, but with the heaviest game bags; the little ill-featured Tamarias, with spears, shields, and matchlocks; the Nagpoor Moondas, with huge ornaments stuck through their ears, indifferently armed with bows and arrows, clubs, or bulwas; the southern Koles, and the far comer from Sarnda with their chain earrings and monstrous pugrees; the Bhooians with their long bows ornamented with horse tails, or the feathers of the blue jay, and their immense barbed arrows; the Pykes of the rajas, koonwrs, thakoors and other zemindars with their shields, tulwars, powder-horns, and immense matchlocks with rests, dressed out in all colours; lastly, the rajas, thakoors, &c. themselves, with guns of Delhi manufacture, prodigious scimetars, or an occasional "Angrezee bundook," the gift of some sahib long passed from the scene, seldom fired, but kept for show in a venerable clothing of rust. Mid great shouting and gabbling the parties claim and carry off their several heads of game, or wrangle for the arrows sticking in the carcasses and elsewhere about; all then repair to the banks of the nearest stream, where they form their temporary camps; fires are lighted, the game is cut up, bundles of provisions unpacked, and for a mile or upwards along the wooded vista, the clear bright water reflects innumerable groups, which on either bank are cooking, eating, drinking, sleeping, laughing, or dancing.

Such is the faint description of a scene in which I have often mingled, and look back to with much regret;

"'Tis merry, 'tis merry in good green wood,"

and the sports of these simple people in their sylvan retreats must afford the highest excitement and pleasure to all in whom to a passion for field sports is joined a love for the beauties of nature, here seen in her wildest and most striking attire.

These people have no amusements, with the exception of their hunting and fishing excursions, and the dancing and singing during

their festivals. The youngest boys stalk about birds nesting, armed with a small bow and arrow, or employ themselves fishing. Though cheerful, they are as manly as their fathers in appearance, and I have never seen them engaged in any game, nor am I aware that any are known by them. In Hindoo villages, groups of children may be seen constantly engaged in some puerile amusement, such as trap and ball, prisoner's bars, peg-top, mock processions, &c. ; and the older ones in fighting cocks, quail, or rams. But these appear to afford no pleasure to the Hos; on calm summer evenings they are fond of assembling at their doors to listen to the flute, the girls sing in concert, the younger ones go through the quiet demure dance of the country, and papa and mamma sit aloof looking approvingly on, and solacing themselves with a little "Eely"; while twilight lingers, their happy laughing voices, or the wild humming melody of their songs is heard; but no squabbling, no abuse or high words, no "Gallee," none of the vile traits of common Hindoostanee life, ever offend the ear.

The language of their songs is poetical and pleasing; it would not however bear translation. Ideas which in the English idiom would be dull and stupid, and words which would be common place, in the smooth mellifluous accents of their dialect sound interesting, and often beautiful. A few of their songs I have copied and translated at the end of the vocabulary, &c.

Their dances are almost similar to those of the Dhangurs, Santals, and other jungle people. The men and musicians are generally in the centre of a large circle composed of women, locked with their arms round each other; the circle is headed by the eldest matrons, and brought up by the smallest girls, a space being left between, they *chassez* backwards and forwards, keeping exact time, and going slowly round the men in the centre. Sometimes another large circle of men forms outside them, but all step with the greatest exactness to the tune, and the effect is most singular and pleasing. The "Magh Purub" dance, when they go scampering through the villages four or six abreast, and in close column, is very like our "Gallope," and when the performers are well dressed, I have seldom seen any thing prettier.

Marriage Ceremonies.

When a young man has seen a girl who pleases him, he goes home and calls together four or six respectable men of his acquaintance,

to whom he communicates his wishes respecting her. They institute inquiries regarding the means, wealth, and respectability of the family, and if accounts are good, they set off to the girl's parents' house, taking a brass kutorah or a p'hool one a present, and tell the parents the young man's wishes. On their way to the house they note carefully all the signs that occur, as the flight of vultures, the song of the "ooi oe" or Mindanao thrush, and the appearance of jackals, taking care they should remain on the same hand they were met with. Should the conference terminate favourably, the deputation is feasted and kept one day at the house, and the signs they have noticed on the road are recounted and carefully expounded by men versed in augury. The next day the deputation returns again, noting the signs on the road; and in this manner they pass and repass between the houses of the parties, bearing messages and settling the marriage terms. These go-betweens are called "Dootáms." People also from the girl's side go to the bridegroom's, taking note in their journeys likewise of the signs on the road.

Should the omens be interpreted to be very bad, to portend death, or disease, &c., they determine to break off the match for a time, and appoint a meeting the next day, with "Eely" and fowls, to have a sacrifice on the road, half-way between the bride and bridegroom's houses. The next day they accordingly, to the number of four or six on each side, meet half way, and go through the sacrifice to the "Singbonga," after which they tear a saul leaf in two between them and declare the marriage null and void. The whole ceremony is concluded by a prayer to "Singbonga," begging that if the parties still wish to be united, he will vouchsafe to give them better omens the next time they negotiate.

After some time the Dootáms from the bridegroom go again to the bride's house, this time there is no notice taken of tokens; they give notice that the bridegroom with his father and mother are coming on a visit. A day or two afterwards, the young man with his parents set off, and are received at the bride's house, when mutual inquiries as to property, possessions, and the desire of the parties for wedlock, are again set on foot. All being satisfactorily answered, the parents settle the price to be paid by the bridegroom's father. This is generally twenty, thirty, forty, or fifty head of cattle, according to the old gentleman's means; sometimes, when the requisite number of cattle cannot

be paid, rupees, goats, sheep, or dhan, are given to make up the number. For every thirty head of cattle, one plough of bullocks and a buffalo, also a few brass pots, &c. are given over and above the bargain.

After this visit, people from the bride also go to see the bridegroom, along with the girl's parents, and a feast is given them, after which the cattle, and such other things as were agreed on are produced, and the parents of the bride settle the day they are to bring her to her husband.

On the day fixed, the bride is led to the bridegroom's house, in procession, with a numerous retinue playing on flutes and drums, and dancing; on approaching the bridegroom's house, he meets her in like fashion, and leads her towards his house. The bridegroom is mounted on a man's shoulders, with a drawn sword in his hand.

When the whole party have come in front of the bridegroom's house they halt, the bridegroom's mother, or aunt, or the nearest female relations bring a low wooden stool "Gandoo," on which they wash the bride's feet, and her party then retire with her to where they have taken up their quarters for the night. Provisions are then sent to the whole party, and to the bride a cock, on account of her being about to enter the house; this is called "Dooartaïoom seem;" also "Chindee seem" or a fowl, for the bandage of her hair, which is to be untied and dishevelled the first night; also four pye of dhan, and a handia of Eely, called "Ajee hanar," which is for the bride's sister; also at midnight Eely, called "Talla needa eely" is sent to the party, and dancing and singing is kept up till morning.

The next morning the bride presents to the bridegroom for every head of cattle that has been given in price for her, a handia of eely, a pye of dhan, and a pye of rice; this is called "Doob gandoo eely, Baba, and Chowlee," being given because the bride is to be seated on a mora of dhan, (a seat is called Doob gandoo); of all this, one half is sent back by the bridegroom, also a goat called, "Jóm is sie merom;" also a rupee's worth of necklaces, "Jom issin hissir"; also one rupee of cloth for her mother, called "Enga bagé lijia". after feasting and drinking, the bride's party rise, and with singing and dancing bring her to the bridegroom's house and seat her on a mora of dhan, where oil is poured on her head, and a leaf dish

of boiled rice and meat, dressed in the bridegroom's house, called "Jom issin," is brought her, which she touches with her hand, and thereby declares herself of her husband's caste. She is then left in charge of the bridegroom's female relations, and the ceremonies end by all the parties dispersing home, and leaving the happy pair to themselves.

Signs and Omens.

If a vulture, crow, Mindanaó thrush, Indian magpie, oriole, woodpecker, partridge, jackal, fox, deer of kinds, hare, bee, snake, especially the Covra, pass behind the Dootám, or messenger, he will die.

If a Cadis, "toorpoo cheedoo," cross in front of the Dootám or messenger (negociator), it portends the death of the bride in childbirth.

Should an ichneumon fly, "koonkal ho," drag a large spider "bindee ram," across the road, it portends the bride will be carried off by a tiger the very first time she goes to fetch wood or water.

The same omen, if a hawk or kite of any kind stoop and carry off a bird, fowl, or lizard, from any side.

A syrus "hoor, or vulture, deedee" crossing the road flying singly in front, portends the death of the father or mother, according to the sex of the bird—of the bride if near her village, of the bridegroom if near his.

If the great wood-hawk, "booroo queed," hover over head, it foretells the death of mother and son at childbirth.

If the deputation meet a toad, "roto poto chokey," it portends that the bridegroom's father will be bewitched.

If a flying squirrel, "oral," call out on the right or left hand, before or behind, the marriage is stopped directly. The same if a parakeet, "meerov," (large ringed kind) scream.

Should a branch fall from a tree without apparent cause, such as being cut, or rotten, or worm-eaten, it portends the certain death of the parents of both parties.

If the tumble dung-beetle, "eeoroo," be met with rolling dung along, it threatens poverty and unrequited hard labour.

If two large lizards, "kaka," are met chasing each other to copulate, it is a sign that the bride's sister, or sisters, will commit some faux

pas. If a pair of little lizards, "reta kaka," do the same, it foretels intrigue among the bride's female servants.

If birds copulate, it portends that the intended bride is in love, or intriguing with some one else.

A jungul cat, "bow," crossing the road, signifies the bride will be a lazy good-for-nothing person.

In anointing the bride's head with oil, should a drop trickle down her nose, it is a good sign; should it go down her temple or cheek, it shows she will be inconstant.

If a Mindanao thrush, "ooi," Indian magpie, "hoorlee," or oriole, "bocho," perch on a kuhar tree, "doorlee daroo," in front or on either side, it portends the bride and bridegroom and their children will have ulcers. If they perch behind, the Dootám will have them.

If one of these birds are seen flying up and turn back, it threatens the bride's parents refusing to give her.

The voice or cry of the queen of the white ants, "boonoom enga," is a bad sign.*

If a number of "sarooses" or vultures, pass, it is a good sign.

If a magpie, woodpecker, vulture, Mindanao thrush, oriole, crow, or other bird settle on the summit of a large assun tree, "hatna daroo," it foretels riches.

If two dhamna snakes, "jamboo bing," cross, it also foretels wealth.

If the bee in wandering through the woods searching for honey settle upon a man, it foretels wealth, and that he will be very hospitable.

The same, and longevity, if a number of crow pheasants, "sengel topo," cross over.

A troop of hannooman monkeys, "sarra," crossing, promises great herds of cattle.

If any bird sit on a keond tree, "tirril daroo," it denotes the bride will be a vixen.

Meeting women, young or old, carrying water in ghurras, is a good sign.

If the spotted eagle, "doomoor kivid," settle on the right side, it bodes imprisonment to the traveller.

* This may allude to the low stridulous sound emitted from ant hills, during the sultry hours of noon, which ceases on near approach.

Rites, &c. at Childbirth.

When the pangs of childbirth are coming on, the husband procures some widow as midwife, to whom a fee of eight annas is given. During the wife's illness the husband alone cooks for her, and also for the midwife, who is unclean, as well as the husband; for eight days all the children and servants are excluded from the house, and sent with provisions to live for the time at some relation's; very little children are allowed to remain with the father.

Should the pangs be very violent, and the women's life in danger, divination is had recourse to, to discover the afflicting divinity, to whom a cock, goat, or sheep is sacrificed.

For eight days the husband cooks his own dinner, remaining apart from all friends and relations; during this time these latter prepare Eely, which they brew on the fourth day, so that it may be upon the eighth and place it in the husband's house. On the eighth morning the father shaves the child's head, and gets his own shorne by a taunty, or by his own servants. He then bathes and washes his clothes, and the wife does the same. They then go and partake of the Eely which has been set apart for them, and the relations finish the remainder, taking it away to drink.

The unclean state of the husband and wife still continues till the new moon, or the moon's first quarter, according to the time of the child's birth, and the expiration of the eight days. Finally, there is a grand feast at the house of the husband and wife, and they are held clean from that date.

Naming the Child.

When the child can begin to stand or waddle about, the parents think of naming him. For this purpose they procure a pan of water in which they put four grains of Oorid, then take them out, and rub them in the palms of their hands until they are well softened. The father then cries out a name, saying he will adopt it if the grain of Oorid floats in the water, but not if it sinks. Four names with the four seeds are thus tried, and the name to which the seed floats is assumed and given to the child.

Should all four seeds by any chance sink, the ceremony of naming is abandoned for six months, or a year, when the same operations are resumed.

It is common among the Koles for a friend of the family to wish to stand namesake to the child, but when this occurs, the grain of Oorid is still had recourse to, and if it sink at the godfather's name, he is rejected.

The namesake, or "sakee", binds himself to help the child in sickness, distress, or poverty; by sending goats, fowls, &c. to sacrifice in the former case, or by lending him rice, &c. to be repaid without interest in the latter, and this sponsorship ends in unbroken friendship between the two, throughout after life.

No kind of religion, or rites, or ceremonials are taught the children, but they pick them up as they can, by observing their elders. If a child die unnamed, it is not thought any particular misfortune on that score.*

Funeral Rites.

When a person is dead, the people of the house set up a howling, or "keening," which continues till the news has been given to all the relations, and the pile prepared, which it is in the yard of the house; first thick logs are placed, then smaller transverse faggots, on this a wide plank, along the edges of which sticks are laid; when this is prepared, the corpse is brought out foot foremost, bed and all, with all its ornaments on, male or female, by the women of the village and of the house.

It is then placed, amid crying and howling, on the pile, the head to the northward; rupees, to the amount that can be spared, are put into the mouth, a lota on each side the body, a brass, or "p'hool," kutora on the head, and one at the feet. Another board is then put on, and above it more wood, by the women, who amid redoubled lamentations, set fire to the pile.

When the whole is consumed it is suffered to remain all night, people going to and fro to watch it; next morning water is poured on the ashes through peepul branches, and women pick out all the half-consumed bones, which are dried, then sifted in a sieve, and then put into a ghurra and covered with leaves, after which it is hung up to the eaves at the back of the house. Eely is brewed on this day, and

* The youngest born male is heir to the father's property, on the plea of his being less able to help himself on the death of the parents than his elder brethren, who have had their father's assistance in settling themselves in the world, during his lifetime.

when it rises on the fourth day all assembled to bathe, wash their clothes, and shave, and then anoint themselves with the blood of a pig, after which they feast and drink up the Eely.

That same evening the ceremony is gone through of calling the spirit of the departed. All the company, except four people, the father, mother, and two women, or brother and sister and two women or men, sit outside in the back yard; some boiled rice and a pot of water is then placed within the inner room of the house, and ashes sprinkled from thence to the threshold; the father and mother, or brother and sister, as it may be, then go out, taking two ploughshares in their hands—the other two people are left in the house to watch. Those who have gone out proceed to the spot where the body was burnt, and where (in some parts of the country) a clay horse and rider, and an earthen pot on a tripod, with the mouth closed, are placed; round this spot the two relations walk, beating together the ploughshares, and calling out in a plaintive wild strain,

K'alleeng erankedmia	K'alleeng enkakedmia	Hoojoooroamén
“ We never scolded you,	never wronged you;	Come to us back;

Booqité 'leengposakeania	assooladmia	Essoodimmidté leeng tykena
“ We ever loved and cherished you,		and have lived long together

miadoaré leen tykena	na do alum bageea!	gama needa ko
“ under the same roof;	desert it not now!	The rainy nights,

Rabang rabang poio dinko dâra	nendre do alum honorbÿa
“ And the cold blowing days, are coming on;	do not wander here.

Atarked jang japarré alum tingoona	Hoojoo rooâmen
“ Do not stand by the burnt ashes;	come to us again! You

Hesa soobaré umdo ka ty dÿa	gama hoojooredo
“ cannot find shelter under the peepul,	when the rain comes

Rabang hoioré sarjum do Boogité ka doimiai
 “ Down. The saul will not shield you from the cold bitter wind.

Oáté hoojoomèn	Unnangenté oa do boogikidallé!	alleeng do
“ Come to your home!	It is swept for you, and clean;	and we

Moonooité heating metanna, alleeng dóleeng minna, unningente mandeeleeng
“ are there who loved you ever; and there is rice put for you;

doikia, dahleeng-doikia Hoojoomén oátéhoojoomén Dooïrimén alleeng tar!
 ‘ And water; come home, come home, come to us again!

They then return to the house door, and call for a light, and commence searching for traces of the return of him they have been invoking; they look in silence along the ashes for the supposed mark of the footstep of the spirit; they examine the rice to see whether the grains have been disturbed—the water, to detect any drops thrown on the ground; should any of these signs be discovered, it is announced that the spirit is come back to the house, and they sit down apart, shivering with horror, and crying bitterly, in which they are joined by all without, who come and weep long and loudly, and then depart.

The ceremony of going out and calling is persevered in till some signs, or fancied signs of the return of the departed to his home have been discovered.

The relations assemble once more to settle the terms and time of burying the bones. Rice is given to people to fetch a stone, as large as the means of the family admit of, which is to be put over the grave. Into the grave, which is two cubits broad and chest deep, and in the public burial place of the village, rice is put, on this the pot of bones, over this, rice, clothes, money, brass ornaments, and every thing they can afford.

The whole is then covered, and the stone or rock placed over it; on this a goat is sacrificed, and the blood and heaps of salt sprinkled all over the stone, also oil is spread over the gravestones of all the dead relatives who are lying around, to awaken them to receive the new comer.

They also tie a strip of cloth to a branch of the tree above the gravestone, to show all passers by the quality of the cloth which was buried with the bones.

Besides the gravestone, another, a *cenotaph* stone, is buried upright to commemorate the name of the deceased, at the edge of the village, or side of the road, and the departed spirit is supposed to love to come and sit beneath its shade, when going to and from his house.

The Koles suppose the spirit to walk about in the day, and to keep in the house all night, for which purpose they preserve a little space clean for it, on which they place a small meehan, called “Tantara”, underneath which, in every Pooja or Purub, a small portion of the sacrifice is placed.

Kole History of the Creation of the World.

Their following idea of the creation of the world, and of castes, &c. was communicated to me by some of the Mankees orally, and copied almost verbatim. In the commencement, Ote' Boram and Sirma Thakoor, alias Sing Bonga, or God, were self-created. Sing Bonga is the sun. After them the moon was self-created.

Ote' Boram and Sirma Thakoor then made the earth; after that they clothed it with grass, trees, rocks, water; they then made cattle, which were first born in "Bogo Bochee;*" after them all wild animals. They then made a little boy and a little girl, at the bottom of an immense ravine, and as they had no houses to live in, the gods told them to inhabit a huge crab's cave (Katkomoá.) They grew adult, and Sing Bonga came to see them every day, and called them his grandchildren; but at length seeing no hopes of any progeny, from their extreme simplicity, he taught them the art of making "Eely," (rice beer) the use of which caused those sensations, which were in due time the means of peopling the world.

After the creation of man, Sing Bonga, or the sun, married Chandoo Omol, or the moon, from whence sprung four sons and numerous daughters. Now the four sons kept with their father, and the daughters lived with their mother, and as the sun rose every day, with his four hot, fiery sons in addition, the whole world began to burn; and all the animals and man perishing with heat, entreated the moon to save them; so the moon resolved within herself to destroy the sun's sons, and went, and accosting the father, said, "Our children do much harm to the world, and will soon destroy your labour. I am determined to eat mine; do you also devour yours." The sun promised he would follow the moon's example; and so when she hid all her daughters, and came and told him she had devoured them, he destroyed and eat all four of his children; after which the moon released her daughters from confinement. This artifice so enraged the sun, that he drew his sword and cut the moon in half, but repenting afterwards of his anger, allowed her to get whole in certain days, though she still remained condemned to be in half at others, and so she remained, and all her daughters with her, which are the stars.

* I could never learn what place this alludes to.

Now, some time after the first man and woman had lived together and known each other, Sing Bonga came down and asked them what progeny they had ; they say unto him, “ Grandfather, we have twelve sons and twelve daughters ; these twenty-four lifted up their voices and said, “ great grandfather, how can we brothers and sisters all live together ?—Sing Bonga said, “ Go you and make preparations and make a great feast, rice and buffaloe’s flesh, and bullock’s flesh, goats, sheep, pigs, and fowls of the air, and vegetables ;” and they did so ; and when the feast was prepared, Sing Bonga said, “ Take ye two by two, man and woman, that which shall please you most, and that shall ye have for share, to eat all the days of your life, apart from the rest, so that none shall touch his brother’s share.”

And so when the feast was prepared, the first pair and the second pair took buffaloe’s and bullock’s flesh, even as much as they could carry, and these became the Kole (Ho) and Bhoomij (Mootkan) race ; then a pair took the rice ; and other pairs, male and female, rice and vegetables, and these became Bramins, Rajpoots, Chuttries and other Hindoos ; and others took away the goat’s flesh and fish, and became other kinds of Hindoos ; the Bhooians took the shell fish, lastly, when nothing was left but the pig’s flesh, came two pair and took it away, and these are Sontals and Koormees to this day ; and when all the feast was cleared away, there remained one pair who had nothing, and to them the Koles gave of their share, and these are Ghassees to this hour.

And so all these went and lived separately, and peopled the world, and multiplied exceedingly, and Sing Bonga taught those who lived in far countries other languages, and he gave people of different trades their implements.

And after this from the Koles, from their senior house, sprung the English, who also eat of bullock’s flesh. But they are the senior children, and the Koles the junior !

And after the world was peopled, Sirma Thakoor destroyed it once, with the exception of sixteen people, because people became incestuous, and unmindful of God, or their superiors. (Some say he destroyed it with water, some say with fire.)

Wicked men are born again as dogs, pigs, or lizards. Those who swing at churruck poojas, become, some kites, others flying

foxes. Suttees never are born again, but remain burning for ever in their pits, and come out at night, wandering about, still burning (so say the Ghassees.) Good people after death are born again in some better condition in life than formerly. And this order of things will remain for ever and ever. There will be no last day.

When men die, their spirits go to the Sing Bonga, who asks them how they have lived, and judges them. The wicked he whips with thorny bushes, and sometimes buries them in great heaps of human ordure, and after a while sends them back to be born in this world as dogs, cats, bullocks, lizards, &c. The good man he sends back to be born a still greater and better man than he lived before, and all that he had given away in charity, Sing Bonga shows him heaped up in heaven, and restores it to him.

Gods and Spirits.

Besides Oté Boram and Sing Bonga, or Sirma Thakoore, there are Nagé Era or Garra Nagé, Desa Oolee, Marang Bonga—his wife is Pangoora ; these are village gods.

Chanala Desum Bonga, also his wife Pangoora, belonging to married women.

Horatén Ko, or road gods, who come along with a new wife ; also Mahlee Bonga, and Chandoo Omol.

Nagé Era, or Garra Nagé, or Chandore, is worshipped in springs, rivers, or wells ; she is supposed to preside over cutaneous diseases, and deafness ; she is propitiated with eggs and huldee ; if that do not do, with a pig. She has no father or mother, but was self-created. She is invoked to help in catching fish. *Desa Oolee* presides over diseases of the head and stomach ; he is the guardian of the village, and invoked to prevent infectious diseases coming into the country, also to insure rain, good crops, no diseases in the cattle. His wife is *Jaër Booree*. *Desa Oolee* is worshipped at the Mäg Purub ; they sacrifice goats, buffaloes, fowls. *Jaër Booree* is worshipped at Bah Purub, in March and April, and in Batta Oolee, in Assar. The same things are offered to her, except buffaloes ; and she presides over the same things. *Désa Oolee* lives in a grove made for him ; *Jaër Booree* in

another. They were from the first, as man and wife, but have no known progeny.

Marang Bonga presides over sickness, and is worshipped according to the extent of the sickness and means of the patient. He lives in a grove (small one) where they erect a post, after sacrificing a buffalo, and sticking its horns on the top.

To *Pangoora* they sacrifice, on account of sickness and fever, fowls, goats, or sheep; she lives under a tree, or two or three trees near an ant hill; no post is erected for her; she is the wife of *Marang Bonga*.

Chanala Desum Bongo is worshipped for diseases by married people alone, as he comes along with the bride from her village; *Pangoora*, his wife, is the same.

Horatén Ko are the spirits of the forefathers of a newly-married woman. They are worshipped on the road, and to them are sacrificed fowls, goats, or an old bullock; they are invoked for sickness.

Mahlee Bonga is invoked by cripples or blind people; he lives anywhere indiscriminately. They offer him pigs and fowls. *Chandoo Omol* is propitiated by a pig and a black fowl, for sickness: she lives wherever she was first worshipped.

None of these spirits have any reputed figure or description, and consequently are never represented by idols. The Hos frankly confess that as their gods, to their knowledge, have never been seen, they cannot be described; they also know nothing of the origin of them. They have, moreover, no notion of a devil or any evil spirit, their opinion being that he only who created, is able to destroy or torment either here or hereafter.

They have but four Purubs in the year, and these are not fixed to any particular date, some villages being two or three months performing their poojas, before or after others. *Mâg Purub* takes place about February and March, sometimes in January; *Bah Purub* follows a month after; *Batta Oolee* is in Assar; and there is also sacrificing and pooja gone through before eating the newly cut crops of the year, called the "Namagom."

These festivals consist in little more than singing, dancing, and immoderate drinking, besides offering up a goat or two, or a few fowls in each village. The people seldom adorn themselves, or make themselves cleaner than at other times, and the villages do not unite in

these merry makings, but go through their ceremonies at separate times, and at their own sacred groves.* At Mâg the men and women occasionally put on grotesque finery, and their songs and dances are wild and pretty. The figures and airs are nearly all alike; the women form a circle, are staid and demure, and sing in a low humming strain, while the men and drummers in the centre, in all stages of intoxication, twist themselves into all manner of contortions, and indulge in violent and ludicrous gestures. During one ceremony, at the Mâg Purub, the Koles abandon their usual decent behaviour to women, and both sexes go tramping through and about their villages, chanting the most odiously filthy recitative, in which the youngest who can lisp are allowed to join.

But if their public Purubs are few, they make up amply by the number of private sacrifices which they carry on in their own houses. On account of sickness in any member of the family, or among their servants, the most trifling indisposition, as well as the gravest malady, has but this one remedy among them. They never attempt resorting to medicine, and no frequency of deaths, no extent of the ravages of any contagious disease, can shake their faith in the one resource of offering sacrifices to the god who is supposed to be chastising them with the visitation. In endeavouring to dissuade them from this dangerous folly, in which the father of a family, with unshaken bigotry, sees his household swept away into the grave, and the whole of his live stock destroyed in vain efforts to check the ravages of sickness, by sacrificing to the gods, we have as yet signally failed; although they were, by dint of constant entreaty and admonition, induced to come to the Hospital at Chyebassa, and although many cures were performed upon them, it has proved of no eventual benefit; the Koles now never make their appearance to seek for medical aid, and the slight temporary reform that was effected among them, has altogether ceased.

The most gross superstitions still prevail among this people with regard to witchcraft; but the dreadful effects of this belief, to which numbers of unfortunate persons have fallen a sacrifice, have now, through fear of our laws, almost wholly ceased. The Koles believe

* These sacred groves, or plantations of saul trees, are attached to every village; they call them "Saër".

that by certain prayers and incantations, a person can obtain sufficient power to produce the illness, or cause the death, not only of any obnoxious person, but of whole families, or even villages; and that these evil arts can also extend to the crops, the cattle, and the weather!

Should any such misfortunes befall them, it is of course immediately referred to the machinations of some sorcerer, and every means is had recourse to, to discover him. This is effected either by certain signs, or by the divination of some augurer, or most frequently (in case of sickness) by the declaration of the patient himself, who declares he has seen the wizard in a dream, standing on him, and sacrificing to the gods, to procure his dissolution. Such is the inflexible integrity of the Koles in speaking truth, that I firmly believe the sick man, in all such cases, does dream of the person he denounces. Being taught from his infancy to attribute every misfortune to preternatural agency, it is not to be wondered at, that when in his turn afflicted, his apprehensions rest upon some one, with regard to whom a previous quarrel, or other cause of ill-will, suggests the fear of retaliation, and these thoughts, long nourished while waking, would naturally embody themselves in sleep in some dreadful dream, which at once substantiates all the suspicions of the sufferer!

Should these proofs however be wanting, the near relations of the patient have recourse, as I said, to a diviner. This class of wretches, sources of all evil, are not, happily, so prevalent among the Koles as the Hindoos who reside in the vicinity. To these the poor credulous creatures resort, journeying to great distances, and parting with almost all their possessions to obtain the aid of the sage, who, after collecting such information as he requires, pockets his fee, goes through some absurd ceremonies, and coolly denounces the person he may consider best suited for the distinction, as the originator of all the calamity.

The life of the unfortunate victim so pointed out was, of course formerly, not worth an hour's purchase; he was either slain openly by the party, whose kinsman was dead or dying, murdered in cold blood at night, or in some cases, demanded from his clans people, to undergo the ordeal. The latter have seldom been known to refuse such a requisition. The ordeal, however, was, as it has been in other countries,

merely a means of glossing over the proceedings. The person denounced had either to dip his hand into boiling ghee, or water, or stand upon a red hot Koolharee (shovel) when, if scalded or burnt, he was declared guilty, or he was tied up in a sack and thrown into the water, with the option of floating on the top, if he could.

The particulars of the ceremonies of divination and ordeal I cannot describe, having no longer the means of gaining information from the natives. Hitherto I have been writing from their dictation. The account of the creation, and of their marriages, and other rites, and their mythology, have been translated almost verbatim from their lips. Having now left them and their country, I conclude the theme from memory.

The Hos, although totally distinct from Hindoos yet, being a simple race have suffered that crafty people to lure them in many ways into following their ceremonies, rites, festivals, and prejudices. Those near the boundaries have become as subservient to Brahmins as any Hindoos would be ; but on this subject I shall speak hereafter. The "curse of caste" is strongly felt by them, and its follies strangely mixed up with the distinctions of relationship. They divide themselves into clans, called "Keelies," of which there are a great number. Who the founders were, or whence they take their names, I never could ascertain. A man cannot marry into his keely, as it is looked upon as a kind of brotherhood ; neither can he eat with one of another keely. They have separated themselves entirely from the race from which they sprung, viz. the Mondas of Eastern Chootia Nagpoor, although Keelies of similar names are found in both. When the separation took place, it is impossible to say, but it has become marked not only in manners, dialect, and dress, but in appearance. The Mondas form part of the good tempered, but ugly figured *Dhangurs* seen in Calcutta. The Hos are, on the contrary, eminently handsome, with figures like the Apollo Belvidere. These last shave the hair off the forehead, and wear it tied behind. The Mondas wear their locks dishevelled, or clubbed at the top of the head, transfixed with a long pin or comb, and are at once distinguished.

The Hos are particular in their diet. They eat beef (all but the border and half Hindooised ones), mutton, goat's flesh, fowls, hares, deer, and fish. The poorest classes eat pig, but unlike the *Dhangurs*, San-

tals, Bhoomijes, and other tribes inhabiting the jungles, they never touch the flesh of bears, monkeys, snakes, and other wild animals. The Hos, with some few exceptions, will drink spirits (of which they are extravagantly fond) from wine glasses used by us ; but they will not drink water contained in any earthen vessel, which may have been touched by other classes. Many of them believe the essence or soul of a man to lie in his shadow, and consequently will relinquish boiling rice or other food, while preparing, if the shade of a different caste person fall upon it.

Their standard dish (as it is both meat and drink to them) is "Eely," or rice beer. It consists of rice and water boiled and mashed together, and then left to ferment for three days, with a piece of "Rannoo" (a bitter root) to aid the process ; of this all classes, ages, and sexes, partake, many of them intemperately. In their hunting parties it often forms their sole sustenance for two or three days. The drink is not badly flavoured, and use would make it, I should think, just as palatable as our common small beer ; it causes moderate inebriation, and all classes appear after their meals slightly "jollified" by it. They seldom drink to a disgusting excess, and quarrels from intoxication are not of common occurrence. The *Soondees*, a spirit manufacturing class of Hindoos, are numerous throughout Singbhoon, and make a strong distillation of the Mowhooa berry, called by the Hos "arkee ;" of this the latter, left to themselves, do not much partake, preferring their own beer.

As yet, commerce has been scarcely at all introduced into the Kolehan ; the people, among whom poverty is unknown, remain contented with the spoils of the chase, and the limited produce of their fields, which are only cultivated in sufficiency to meet present want. They are bad husbandmen, and no agricultural works on a large scale, such as tanks and bunds to meet the exigencies of a dry season, are met with in the country. The "levelling system" obtains so much among them, that there is no farmer or landholder in the country with capital sufficient to go through with such a work. The former lords of the soil, the "Surawuks" (Hindoos), excavated many fine tanks, the traces of which still remain ; they have all however been destroyed by the Hos, who let out the water for the sake of sowing the rich mud at the bottom ; or have allowed them, through superstitious motives,

to fill up from neglect. Being an undulating country, their rice cultivation is restricted to nullahs and water-courses, over which they form fields, by choking up the stream with soil brought from the "Tarn," or upland, a process of infinite toil. An inferior kind of rice, "Gora dhan," is sown in the uplands, and the jungle tribes cultivate the hills up to their summits with cotton, moong, ooid, chunna, til, surgoojia, tobacco, &c. ; such common esculents as the jingee, khukra, cucumber, pumpkin, maize, and baugun, are grown in their villages ; also vast quantities of the castor oil tree, of the kut'hul, or 'jack', and mangoe trees, which the Surawuks planted in numbers, but few now remain. The Hos prize much more the tamarind, which is met with in every village, and grows in great luxuriance.

Vast quantities of the Tusser worm are reared in the "Assun" jungles throughout the country, the proprietors of which preserve them with great jealousy and care. The cocoons are sold to bead merchants, who come annually to barter them in return for necklaces. The silk is manufactured at Serykela, Bankoorah, and Medneepoor, that from the former being most prized. In tending the young worms, much the same ceremonies are gone through as by the people in the Sunderbunds ; fasting, continence, and cleanliness, being considered indispensable. The Hos travel all the way to Poory for the sake of purchasing salt ; they are allowed to bring it laden on bullocks through Kewnjur, by paying toll ; but in passing through Baumenghattee, a nearer and better road, salt on bullocks is seized and confiscated by the Mohenbunj Raja. Bangy loads are however suffered to pass on payment of some *douceur*. There is no Government gola nearer than Medneepoor or Bankoorah.

Vast numbers of cattle are bred in the country ; the Hos do not tend them themselves, but deliver them over to Gwallas, with whom they keep little account, until the cattle are required as payment on marriage occasions. The latter accordingly make a good thing of their charge, selling the milk and ghee, and often the cattle themselves. Great quantities of the latter, and also of buffaloes, are sold to Tamarias for the most trifling prices, besides numbers stolen or swindled away by their customers, who are notorious cheats and robbers. In former times, when the Hos used to make "Raids" over the borders, and harry the cattle of their neighbours, these little

filchings were not so much minded, but now that their excursions have been put a stop to, the owners get more careful, and keep a better look out on the Gwallas. The sheep also, which are numerous in some parts, have been pronounced by judges to be equal to the Patna mutton for the table; but these and goats, as well as poultry, the Hos part with with difficulty, as they require them for their sacrifices, &c. A peculiarity in the country, is the immense flocks of pigeons, which breed in every village, and afford the poorest a delicacy at all seasons. With money the Hos are getting pretty well acquainted, but still hold copper coin in great disdain, seldom taking the trouble to count a large quantity, but reckoning it by handfuls, to the unfeigned astonishment of our Hindoo servants, who would squabble for the tenth part of a cowree.

In summing up this account of the Hos race by a description of their general character, their virtues and vices, I may perhaps fall into the error of a little partiality in their favour; three years constant intercourse with them, in which their love of truth, their honesty, their obliging willingness, and their happy ingenuous disposition, formed so striking a contrast to the mass of the people in Hindustan, may perhaps have induced me to pass lightly over faults to which they are but too liable; but this error (a pleasing one) is I imagine shared with me, by all the European residents who were at Chyebassa. Whether the duplicity and bad propensities of Hindoos in general, be owing to their intercourse with us, or whether it be inherent among them, is a point at present mooted, and not be decided by myself. But among this simple race, the reputed evils of civilization have not yet commenced to be felt; and fervently is it to be trusted, though, alas, the hope may be Utopian, that the introduction of our Courts of Justice, in checking the lawless tendency of the Koles, may not destroy those virtues which are inherent to a primitive state of society. The unhappy feuds which, handed down through generations, formerly existed among them, were owing rather to mistaken notions of honour, than to more malignant feelings; and the best proof of this, is the ease with which through a little timely advice, quarrels *a l'outrance* of the oldest standing have been made up, and whole clans readily reconciled to each other. After the first rough settlements of this country had been made, this became the

especial care of that truly wise and benevolent man, Major Wilkinson, the late Political Agent of the South-West Frontier,* and fortunate was it, that his excellent arrangements were so well seconded by the inherent good feelings of the people, for whose welfare they were directed. The depredations committed by the Hos formerly on their neighbours, for the sake of driving off their cattle, were chiefly, if not entirely, at the instigation of the Hindoo Zemindars around, who employed them to wreak their own malice on their neighbours, and indeed the Hos served them, in a manner, as mercenary hordes. Their forays were never marked by cruelty or unnecessary violence, nor except when they were openly resisted, was ever life taken. A fearful number of people (among themselves) have fallen sacrifices to the horrid superstitions respecting witchcraft; but such crimes, common to the barbarous ages of all nations, and but too prevalent formerly in our own, must be, by the impartial observer, attributed more to the depravity of the judgment than the heart. The superstition still continues, but the horrors resulting from it have almost entirely ceased. But cold blooded murder for the sake of gain, robbery, even pilfering, lying, deceit, dishonesty, even of the most venial kind, are almost unknown, and looked upon with disgust. The truth and integrity of a Kole are well known, and the fidelity of their wives, and modesty of the females in general, proverbial.

They are on the whole a light-hearted and good-natured race, irascible, though quickly appeased. But so strong is their sense of injury, that a harsh word suddenly spoken, will produce the most serious results; for this reason they seldom quarrel, and terms (epithets) of abuse are unknown in the language; among females the mere hearing of a few words of reproach will induce them to commit suicide, and this crime among both sexes is so frightfully prevalent, as to afford no parallel in any known country. The mere bantering a lad on his predilection for any girl, has led to self-destruction; jokes of an injurious nature they do not understand, and indeed seldom or ever indulge in them, although in the most harmless way. Beggars are scarcely known in the country, but the Hos are charitable to those deserving aid, and hospitable to strangers to the same de-

* Now Resident at the Court of the Raja of Nagpore (Berar.)

gree as Arabs of the desert, for it is thought a sign of enmity to stop even at the door-way without a 'stirrup cup' of Eely. Among their chief faults may be reckoned indolence, and dirt. The poorer people are often very filthy, and unless in the warm season, seldom touch water. The lowest classes will not object to devouring bullocks that have died, from disease, out in the fields, even though far advanced in decomposition, and will devour stale eggs, half-putrid fish, &c. &c. But these filthy customs are confined to the very lowest and poorest of the people.

Memoir of Sylhet, Kachar, and the adjacent Districts. By Captain FISHER, formerly Superintendent of Kachar and Jynta.

The provinces of Bengal east of the Brahmaputra, though among the earliest acquisitions of the British in India, attracted but little attention for a long time, in consequence of their general tranquillity and secluded position. The vast mountain regions by which they were encompassed on their external frontiers, seemed to secure them against the chance of serious foreign invasion, while the incursions of the wild hill tribes had but slight effects on their internal condition, and were easily curbed by a few local troops retained chiefly for that purpose. If Sylhet excited but little interest, still less was naturally thought of the petty independent states connected with it; and it was only after the Burmans had conquered Assam and Manipur, that a wish seems to have arisen for a more accurate knowledge of their condition; though this was still greatly restrained by fear of giving umbrage to their chiefs. The events arising out of the Burmese war have materially altered the relations of all these countries, on which, however, it is not my purpose here to enlarge, but simply to bring to notice such facts respecting their geography, internal condition, resources, and traditional history, as in the course of a long residence, and the prosecution of various inquiries, I have been able to collect; restricting myself however to the correction of current errors, and the notice of such particulars as have not hitherto obtained general publicity.

Geography.—The survey of Sylhet, though unfinished, has yet been prosecuted far enough to shew, that the area of the district is more

considerable than had been supposed. As the external boundaries towards the Tippera hills, Kachar, and the Kasia mountains have been traced, and the outline is only incomplete on the western side, on which it is not likely any material difference from the old delineation would be discovered, it is likely that the contents (4500 square miles,) now assigned for it, is pretty near the truth. The quarter in which the most considerable error has been found in the old map is the southern, which Rennell does not seem to have visited; and here many of his positions have been found from ten to forty miles too much to the north. The topography too of this part has been amended, the chains of hills, or rather ridges, having been ascertained to consist of several parallel ranges, separated by wide and fertile vallies, and ranging north and south, instead of east and west, as before supposed. Some of these ridges also are found to be partly in Sylhet, and partly in Tippera, and in two or three instances they penetrate deeply into the former district.

On the side of Kachar, the boundary of Sylhet has been traced southward to Chatrchura, a conical peak on the Banka range of hills, the country about which is frequented by the Pytu Kukis, a wild wandering tribe, who migrate from this their north-west limit, eastward to Tung-hum, and southward to an unknown extent, their cognate tribes being found in the neighbourhood of Chittagong.

In Lower Kachar a complete survey of the cultivated tracts has been effected, the principal rivers traced, and in particular the course of the Delaseri from the southward, followed through a part which heretofore presented only a blank in the map. This tracing, was, however, executed by one of my native surveyors, after circumstances had put it out of my power to conduct it myself.

Captain Pemberton's surveys in Manipur fix the eastern boundary of Kachar, but points of junction between our surveys occur at Aquee, in the Naga Hills, and on the Bohman range.

In Upper Kachar a line has been traced along the Jatingah river to its source, and thence to a point on the Di-yung, at which it becomes navigable for small boats, beyond which I had no opportunity of proceeding northward, but the remainder of the route into Assam was explored by Captain Jenkins, whose valuable Report illustrates the whole of this country. The survey, however, in this quarter was

carried far enough to fix the courses of the great streams and ridges, and to establish a relation with the route pursued by Captain Pemberton from Manipur into Assam, the great ridge crossed by him being in this survey traced westward to its termination in a number of ramifications on the Modura river. The fact of most interest ascertained by this part of the survey, is the facility with which a road could be formed from the navigable limit of the Jotingah to that of the Di-yung, by which the intercourse with Upper Assam would be greatly extended, and its communication with Calcutta shortened. So gentle is the ascent, and so few are the obstacles, that there seems no reason to doubt, a road for carts might be made with very little trouble.

Returning westward, the survey fixes the boundaries of Jynta, and much of the mountain tract immediately north of Sylhet and Pondua, including the country between Chirra Ponji and Nunklao. It then traces the outline of Sylhet at the foot of the Kasia Hills, and is prolonged to Sowara, on the banks of the Brahmaputra, from which it follows the old channel of this river to Naraingunj and Dacca. The object of this last portion of the work was to connect the survey and a series of astronomical observations made for longitude at the town of Sylhet, with a position which had been well fixed by Mr. Walter Ewer of the Civil Service, and to which the Assam Survey had also been referred. For many of these observations, which were made on the transit of the moon and stars, I was so fortunate as to obtain corresponding passages at Greenwich. Dacca was included also as a well fixed point, but chiefly because the water communication between it and Sylhet, was found to be very erroneously delineated in the old maps, in consequence apparently of changes in the course of the rivers below Azmerigunj. Correct outlines were made of these, though they do not appear in the new printed map, for which it is to be supposed they were too late.

The minute operations carried on in the prosecution of the Revenue Survey have afforded an opportunity for acquiring a more intimate knowledge of the topography, resources, and husbandry of the interior, and these complete the list of the several inquiries pursued.

Aspect and Geology.—The physical aspect of this vast tract, presents great variety, and cannot of course be described under one term.

Even in the plains there is less of uniformity than would be supposed on a casual inspection, and the experienced agriculturist well knows that the lands in the eastern part of Sylhet, and in Lower Kachar, are far more valuable than those to the westward, even up to the banks of the Megna. This is explained by the greater elevation of those parts, and by the number of hill streams passing through them, the banks of which are always higher than the adjacent country. The vegetation, as well as the husbandry of these tracts, is greatly influenced by this particular, of which I shall take more notice hereafter.

The hill regions may be conveniently separated into two divisions, distinguished by great difference of elevation, the point of separation being fixed on the Soormah at Luckipur in Lower Kachar, to the south-west of which, whatever elevations present themselves, are under two thousand feet, while those in the north-west still maintain a much greater altitude, and even tower occasionally above six thousand feet. But the division is more appropriate on account of a decisive difference in structure, the northern mountains forming clearly one system, while those of the south belong to another, having reference to high ground in the central parts of Tippera, the existence of which cannot be doubted, though it has never been unequivocally proved. In support of this opinion, I must first point out that the numerous streams flowing from the southward into the Soorma and Kusiara rivers, and of which the very existence was scarcely known before this Survey was made, are many of them of a force and volume indicating a long course, and shewing them to be the drains of high land, from which alone they would draw the water which they discharge, for the Delaseri, the Sungai, the Munu, the Khwa-hi, and the Cognati streams appear to furnish during the rains on an average a discharge of about 25,000 cubic feet per second; a quantity quite inconsistent with any supposition, but that of long courses and elevated origins, as none of these rivers are more than fifty yards in width.

If a reference be now made to some of the older maps on which the other rivers of Tippera are traced, it will be found that the Gumti, which emerges at Commilla, has an east and west course, and that the Chingri and Kurumphuli, which debouche at Chittagong, run nearly southward, while the Kola-dyng, as delineated on more recent maps, has a south-west course, and the river of the Kungfui Nagas falling

into the Manipur river, flows to the south-east. I may add, that the Tipai river which falls into the Barak near Soor, has like the Sonai and Delaseri a northern course. Thus these considerable streams radiate from land in the unexplored regions of Tippera, somewhere between the 23rd and 24th parallels of north latitude, and 91° and 94° of E. longitude, which is unfortunately still a blank in our maps.

I have enlarged on this subject, because I conceive it is one which when attentively considered, will be found of great interest, involving the condition of a tract of country, our ignorance of which, in some conjunctures we might have occasion to deplore.

Both the hills and vallies of Tippera are thickly wooded, and the latter often contain extensive grass jungles, the resort of wild elephants. The most eastern portion of the northern range of mountains is occupied by Upper Kachar, a wild and thickly wooded tract, the mountains of which sometimes attain an elevation of five thousand feet, but offer considerable diversity in that respect, as they here break into branches of the great ridge running between Manipur and Assam. The river Kupili, flowing into the Brahmaputra, marks the limit of this tract, and the termination of that vast system of hills which stretches westward from the unexplored country to the north-east of Manipur.

The Kasia mountains rise immediately from the valley of the Kupili, and range westward to Laour, near which they are bounded by the Patli river, the hills west of that belonging to the Garrows, and being distinguished by an aspect and structure of their own.

Much has been written on the Kasia mountains during the last ten years that they have been visited by Europeans, but I am not aware that any attempt has been made to account for their peculiarities, nor would I now undertake the task, but that I fear it will be left undone by those who could perform it so much better. The physical aspect of these hills excites the strong attention of the observer, as being so greatly at variance with that of the whole country in their neighbourhood. The barrenness of the table land, more especially in its southern portion, where not only does nature yield but little, but where art is found unable to assist her, is perhaps unprecedented in such a climate. This sterility will, I think, be found to be closely connected with the character of the rocks, and the disturbance of the strata, but more especially with the latter, for where these are horizontal, there is an

absence of vegetation, and wherever the strata are inclined to the horizon, symptoms of fertility begin to shew themselves.

The absence of any well marked appearance of the unstratified rocks is remarkable in the Kasia hills, for I am aware only of one instance in which they are said to shew serpentine; having, it is said, been seen near Nungklao, a locality which however I had no opportunity of examining. It is true, granite is found, but except at the Okillon hill, always in boulders on the surface, nor has it ever been seen in peaks or amorphous masses, to the protrusion of which, the dip of the secondary strata is usually referred. Except in the single instance of the limestone which occurs near Musmai, I think it may be said that there is no appearance of a disturbance in the sandstone bed by which the country between that place and the Bogapani is filled, and of which the thickness is unknown; now this part (and others similar to it) is remarkably sterile; but wherever the level of the strata has been disturbed, whether by internal igneous action, or by any force of a more limited range, a disintegration of the rocks, and consequent accumulation of soil at the foot of the slope formed, has taken place, and vegetation to a greater or less extent ensued. Thus the slopes formed at the outcrop of the sandstone with the limestone near Musmai are all well covered with wood, which disappears as the slope subsides into the ordinary level of the table land. And in general throughout the ascent from the plains to Chirra, after the limits of the lower bed of limestone have been passed, it may be observed that vegetation is dense only on the slopes, and that wherever ledges or steps occur, they are comparatively barren.

The total rise between the foot of the mountains and Chirra, seems to be about one in ten feet, but subject to great irregularity, while between Chirra and the south bank of the Bogapani, it amounts only to one in forty, with comparatively little variation.

All the vallies on this side terminate in precipitous heads, exhibiting the horizontal position of the sandstone.

To the northward of the Bogapani, the aspect of the country changes, and though the altitude is greater, the vegetation is also more considerable, and continually increases until between Myrung and Nungklao it becomes abundant, though it does not yet exhibit that excess which prevails further to the north and west. A feature will be here found to

force itself on the attention, to which unquestionably the increase of vegetation in this part is to be traced ; I allude to the numerous and large granite boulders which are scattered in such abundance over the country as to be occasionally mistaken for the crust or surface. The granite has however never, as I before observed, been seen in any form but that of boulders, nor is there any well established instance of these having been seen otherwise than on, or partially imbedded in the surface. I should remark, that the mass of granite, well known as the Okillon, near Nungun and west of the Nungklao road, may be considered of a dubious form, for though the dimensions are enormous, the shape of the exposed part is that of a boulder. The disintegration of these boulders has of course largely contributed to the formation of soil, especially when favoured by the configuration of the ground, but wherever the boulders are missing, and the strata preserve their horizontal position, vegetation remains likewise deficient.

As I am more anxious to record facts than to broach theories, I will not indulge in speculations on the variation of the structure of these hills from those around them, but content myself with observing, that there is nothing in what I have pointed out at all inconsistent with the more recent opinions as to the order, classification, and superposition of the different rocks ; for though none of the unstratified rocks have been seen in the positions which they might be expected to occupy in the centre of the mountains, there is still no reason why they may not occupy a place under the sandstone, and have thus effected its up-lifting without themselves protruding to the surface. Further inquiries may throw light upon this subject, which is worthy of very great attention, for if there be sufficient ground for the opinion here thrown out, the geology of this country will furnish a strong proof of the igneous origin of the unstratified rocks, and their more recent appearance above the surface.

I have already remarked, that a bed of limestone extends along the foot of the hills near Pundua, having its out-crop about five hundred feet above the plains, where it abuts on the sandstone. The direction of this bed is nearly east and west, and though frequently broken through by rivers, it is continued westward (declining however in elevation as it proceeds) to Bunsikura, where it is found in contact with the plain, from which in other parts it is always separated by clay

and sand hills of alluvial formation. The coal found at Laour rests on this limestone, which abounds in fossil shells, among which the principal are *Terebratula* and *Producta*. The cavern of Booban is situated in this limestone, but no measures have been employed to ascertain if it contains any fossil remains.

The few facts which I am able to add on the geology of the whole country under review, may not improperly find their place here, as they can be of value only when taken collectively to illustrate the general formation.

In Upper Kachar the dense woods have materially impeded observation, and I can only say, that the table land is there absent, as well as the granite boulders, and that the formation is of primary sandstone, upon which an alluvial formation is posited. No fossil remains have been procured from this quarter.

The Tippera hills, in the more elevated parts of which we have any knowledge, exhibit primary sandstones underlying an alluvial formation, in which fossil remains are found in sufficient quantity, but no great variety. Those within my own observation have been *Madrepores* and fossil wood. The alluvial formation over the eastern part of Sylhet and Lower Kachar is of the same nature with that of Tippera, being similar in structure and material. The common feature is a kind of breccia, which is found in masses varying from a mere pebble to enormous blocks of many thousand tons weight, and these are imbedded in the clay or sand hills near the surface (never stratified), often in connexion with a thin stratum of a substance exhibiting a highly metallic appearance, and which seems to be oxide of iron. It is impossible to examine these black blocks, which on fracture display numerous concavities, without entertaining the suspicion of their volcanic origin; but any doubts on this head must cease on looking at the masses of lava by which they are often accompanied, for that the shapeless lumps to which I allude have been in a state of fusion, admits of no question, being proved by their vitrious lustre, close and brittle texture, and by the presence of blisters formed by the air during the process of cooling. I abstain from noticing the localities of the coal beds, salt wells, and Petroleum spring, as they have been heretofore described.

It must be acknowledged that our geological knowledge of this quarter is still lamentably defective, and that the materials for drawing a

section of the rocks in their exact order from Thibet, across Assam, Sylhet, and Tippera, are still to be collected.

The points of interest remaining for examination within this division are :—

1st. The course of the Kupeli river from its source to its confluence with the Di-yung, in the valley between Upper Kachar and Jynte. It is likely to pass through a country the geology of which must deserve attention, as the structure of the opposite sides of the valley must be essentially different, the one upholding a table land, the other running up into peaks and ridges, while the possibility that the river may offer a navigable communication with some point easy of access from the side of Sylhet, is an additional reason for examining it.

2nd. The course of the Patli river near Laour. This river divides the Kasia hills from the Garrows, and its valley must exhibit similar diversity in the structure of its opposite sides with that of the Kupeli.

3rd. I have already pointed out the interest that attaches to the country in the middle parts of Tippera, and I may here add, that the geology of this quarter must be valuable, as it is likely to be connected with the system of mountains which separates Arracan from Pegu, and to contain the extinct craters from which the volcanic remains above noticed have issued.

To conclude this account of the very diversified aspect of the country, the vast semi-basin enclosed on the northern, eastern, and much of the southern side by the mountains above described, may be conveniently divided into two tracts, distinguished from each other by difference of level, and by dissimilarity of vegetable and agricultural produce, as well as by their capacity for commodious habitations and occupations. A line drawn SE. from Chattak passing west of Tajpur, through Nubignunj, and thence under the hills southward to Turruf, will serve very nearly to separate these tracts.

That to the westward, extending nearly to the Brahmaputra, is in most parts always marshy, and the whole is subject to periodical inundations of long duration, being in general under water from April to the middle of November. The towns and villages, which in some parts, more especially to the southward, are numerous, are built on mounds raised with earth dug during the dry season; the houses are in clusters, huts for men, temples, mosques, and sheds for cattle, being

huddled together in a manner that gives to them the appearance rather of the temporary abode of fugitives, than the settled residence of a people. This tract is called Bhatta, apparently from its lowness, and seems to have been conquered by the Mussulmans before the rest of Sylhet.

The eastern division is on a higher level, and rises gradually towards the mountains on either side; notwithstanding this, the marshes which occasionally occur, might lead to a different belief; but these are very limited in extent, and occupy distinct hollows, and the fact of general rise is proved by the course of the rivers, which without it could never exhibit those strong currents for which they are remarkable.

The irregularities of the surface are referable to three distinct causes:

1st. Several ranges of the alluvial formation crossing it run up into ridges, from one to three hundred feet in height.

2nd. The vallies formed by these ranges rise from the centre towards either side, where the land being above the level of ordinary inundations, is peculiarly adapted for agricultural purposes, and is called Do-fusilya, or that of two harvests.

3d. The banks of the Surma and all the hill streams are occupied by land cultivable for two yearly crops, which however here owes its origin to a different cause, having been thrown up by the rivers in working their channels through the plain.

I have here much satisfaction in bringing to notice one of those rare instances in which the interests of a portion, however small, of the Indian community have been manifestly benefited by the adoption of conclusions emanating solely from European foresight and observation. A causeway constructed by the Mogul Government along the left bank of the Surma, and intended to restrain its inundations, was kept up at a considerable expence by the British Government, until the mischievous consequences which have followed the maintenance of similar erections on the Po and Adige, in Italy, having been brought to notice, it was, about twenty years ago, abandoned, and the river allowed to take its natural course. Contrary to the expectations of many, no harm followed; the river occasionally rose for a short time above its banks, but the inundation ran off rapidly, and it seldom happened that any injury was done. It was soon, however, observed, that wherever the river overflowed its banks, a sediment was left, which both raised and

improved the land, and in consequence people far from dreading the inundation, soon learnt to turn it to account; and having banked such lands as were fit for the purpose, led the river to them by narrow canals, which they closed after the flow of water was deemed sufficient, and re-opened when the river had fallen sufficiently to allow it to run off. This practice is now quite common, and by it much marshy land has been reclaimed. The low lands in the Eastern parts of the country may all in time be filled up by the sediment left by the inundations of the rivers, but these are in reality so rare, and of such short duration, that more will be effected by art than nature in this way. It must be remembered, that the ordinary inundation which fills the marshes does not proceed from the rivers but is furnished by the rains, and yields no sediment, this distinction is, of course, not to be overlooked in the execution of the operation above described.

Husbandry.—The agricultural processes in the Bhatta are very simple, and may be briefly dismissed. As soon as the inundation begins to subside, or in the beginning of November, such lands as are sufficiently high for the purpose, are ploughed and sown for rice and millet, the crop being cut in April. Gardens and orchards are unknown, and the cultivation derives the smallest possible aid from the labour which in other parts is so productive. There are neither sugarcane patches, plantations of pán, vine, chillies, nor vegetables,—a little sursoo, and hemp, with some gourds and cucumbers about the huts, appear occasionally, but in limited quantity. The marshes are however filled with cattle, from which profits are derived sufficient to make the occupation of these desolate tracts desirable. Ghee and cheese are made from the milk of buffaloes and cows, and the upper lands are furnished with young bullocks for the plough in numbers, being driven to bazars and fairs in the spring of the year, before the return of the inundation in May and June, after which months they are confined to their sheds, and supported on green fodder brought in boats from the jhils. The people here are extensively concerned in the transport of grain, being the carriers between the high lands eastward and the country to the south-west. The husbandry of the eastern quarter is of a far more elaborate description, though it has not yet exhausted the resources of art on the one hand, nor those of nature on the other. A fertile soil, renewed continually by accumulations from

the hills, copious supplies of rain, with immunity from excessive inundation, are among the advantages enjoyed by this favoured tract. The character too of the scenery here becomes peculiar, and is sufficiently marked to call for its separation from that of India generally. Vast sheets of cultivation, extending for miles along the banks of the Surma and other streams, intersected by splendid groves of trees and bamboos, forming shelter for extensive villages, and occasionally by low ranges of wooded hills, and backed always by mountains either near or distant, form an endless succession of gratifying scenes, on which the eye rests with pleasure, and which, whether beheld by the agricultural economist estimating the resources of the land, by the philanthropist rejoicing in the welfare of his fellow men, or by the lover of the picturesque, must always excite the most pleasurable emotions. But I must not wander from the simple account which I proposed to furnish in this paper.

The ploughing season here begins in the middle of January, when the lower descriptions of land destined for the Aumun crop are first broken up; the higher soon follow, though it is usual to reserve such, on account of the hardness of the soil, until the first showers which fall in February. Before the end of March all the lands are sown, and in July or August the first crop is reaped from the higher lands alone, which are again ploughed and sown for an autumnal crop in November and December. It will readily be understood, that the aumun lands are subject to inundation, though not commonly to the extent which would endanger the crop, and I must here more particularly explain their position, which may else seem not very reconcilable with parts of the foregoing description. I have said that the western division is subject to excessive inundation,—may be marked by a line running southward from the neighbourhood of Chattak; and this is true generally, though a few considerable gulfs cut into the eastern quarter, running up for some miles, more especially between the courses of the great rivers, and form petty jhils of great depth, which are unculturable. The aumun lands are situated on the sides of these and similar jhils, but their cultivation is very different from that of the Bhatta country, the crop in them remaining on the ground throughout the rainy season, and being in consequence very abundant and rich, while that of the Bhatta, grown only in the winter, is both scanty and of

inferior quality. These jhils branching from the Bhatta, I should observe, obstruct the cross communications in the higher country, and render it impassable for travellers from about April or May, until the middle or end of November, but do not affect the cultivation materially.

The ordinary products are dhán, dhal, and kulaie, of all which there are many varieties: the grain is usually divided into two classes, called from the situation in which it has been grown Sayl, and Aumun; among these the subdivisions seem to be infinite, and I should add, that they are not mere fanciful distinctions, but made with reference to well marked peculiarities, either of quality or fruition. Thus among the Sayl, which grows on the high lands, there are grains which come to maturity in the short space of six weeks, while there are others, as the Burwa, which can be raised on the Aumun lands in the winter. It may not readily attract attention, but the careful inquirer will, I think, find it no small advantage, that there are so many grains whose times of coming to perfection are unequal, as they afford, under proper management, a sure resource against the loss of crops of more ample, but more slow growth. All the Sayl grains are raised on seedling land and transplanted, and this practice extends, under favourable circumstances, to the Aumun, the increased productiveness consequent, being well known. As a point of some interest in Indian husbandry, and on which doubts have been entertained, I may state from personal knowledge, that manures are frequently and extensively used. My occupation, as a Revenue Surveyor, gave me frequent opportunities of making this observation in the most unexceptionable manner, and that the practice is not readily avowed, I attribute to the fear on the part of the cultivator that any practice which attracts the notice of a European functionary, will be made the ground for increased assessment.

Irrigation is never found necessary except for the winter crops, but if wheat was cultivated, which experiment has shewn to be perfectly feasible in the cold season, water could be had in abundance for the purpose, and in the same way, barley, oats, and potatoes, have all been raised by me in Kachar on terms which prove their culture would be highly profitable.

In attempting to estimate the profits of agriculture, and the condition of the people employed in it, I should premise, that the minute subdivision of the proprietary right to land which obtains in Sylhet, has

been accompanied by those consequences which have been observed in other countries similarly circumstanced, and that while the industry exhibited in the cultivation of the petty taluks by their proprietors is very admirable, the want of capital, by which their capabilities might be increased, is but too apparent. I am not however sure, that the physical comfort of the people is as yet diminished by this circumstance, for it is certain that the means of subsistence are in abundance, and I have no hesitation in saying, that I have no where seen a population among whom the ordinary wants of nature were so easily and cheaply supplied. But though there is an efficient and permanent demand for produce, the want of capital, or rather its excessive dissemination, effectually prevents the adoption of means by which the cultivator might derive from his land those profits, which it is calculated to yield. I must here meet an old and often urged objection, that it is the Government exactions which check improvement, by observing, that this is one of the lowest taxed districts in India, the average rate of assessment being somewhere about four annas per head, or one rupee one anna on the adult males alone, while the wages of labour are from two and a half to three rupees a month. A rate therefore which exacts on an average the value of ten days labour from each man in the year, cannot be considered excessive, at least when compared with the average for all India, which is above seven times higher. It is therefore to the dissemination of capital that the absence of improvement is entirely attributable, and the state of the land tenures therefore in this district is well worth the attention of the Indian financier, shewing as it does the condition to which, under the existing laws of inheritance, every province in India is tending.

No cultivator, whether proprietor or ryot, ever follows agriculture here as a speculation, or ventures to till a larger quantity of land than can be conveniently managed by himself and the members of his family, and if he raises grain sufficient for his annual expenditure, and a surplus equal to the payment of the Government revenue, his operations are considered successful. He employs the spare time, of which he has abundance, in other pursuits which do not require a capital, or only a very small one in money. Thus the more considerable proprietors after letting the portion of their taluks which they do not find it convenient to cultivate themselves, often engage in the conduct of

adventurers to the woods for timber, bamboos, grass, &c., or they clear land on the hills for cotton, build boats, and convey grain to the markets in the south, &c.; while the Ryots act as boatmen, coolies, and the like, in all which employments little or no cash outlay is required; but they subsist on grain raised in their own fields, while their wives and children maintain themselves by making cloths, &c., for home consumption, or sale, carrying the produce of their gardens and orchards to market, and tending cattle.

There is nothing very remarkable in all this perhaps, except that it exhibits a society among which the first steps in economical improvement have hardly been taken, the advantages of the division of labour not having yet been appreciated, or rather the introduction of that principle having been prevented, by the want of accumulated capital, to meet the expense and delay that must precede the more ample returns which it ensures. I will not enter into any estimate of the expenses attending the cultivation of land, and its return, as a farming speculation, although I have by me details on the point; but conclude this subject with observing, that at the existing rates of rent and labour agriculture would return the former (independent of any improvements he might effect) about thirty per cent., on his capital. The common opinion, confirmed by the current price of estates, is, that money invested in land yields the proprietor from 12 to 15 per cent.

Hill Agriculture.—Among the hill tribes, cultivation is very imperfectly practised, and many therefore depend wholly on their intercourse with the plains; nor can it be said that any of them are at all times wholly secured from want by their own resources. The nature of the country in the south part of the Kasia mountains precludes agriculture, but in the central and northern parts rice is raised in considerable quantity, particularly in the little glens, and on the sides of the vallies, irrigation being practised, and the water brought to the field through narrow cauals, and conveyed over hollows, or up heights, for short distances by hollow trunks of trees or bamboos, experience having taught the cultivator that water can be made to rise in tubes to the level of its source. The labouring season is in the spring, and the crop is cut in August and September.

In the wooded parts of the mountains, by whomsoever occupied, whether Kacharies, Nagas, or Kukies, the cultivation is of a mixed

description, consisting of cotton, rice, and sundry vetches, grown indiscriminately together in one large clearing. The ground for the crop is first prepared by the dao (or bill), the jungle when dried is burnt, and the ashes worked into the soil, which is then broken up by the hoe, and the seed planted or sown in March or April for a crop in September. The hills on the Sylhet and Tippera frontier are cultivated in a similar manner by the natives of the plains, who form themselves into associations periodically for the purpose of a trip into the hills, on a joint account, to cultivate cotton and cut wood and bamboos. The cotton thus obtained is not exported, indeed the quantity raised is barely sufficient for local consumption. It is short in the staple, but the cloths made from it being found to combine warmth with lightness, are in great esteem among the people.

I proceed briefly to notice whatever appears peculiar among plants, vegetables, and fruits.

Indigo is not cultivated in Sylhet, but though one or two trials have been unsuccessful, I think (with men of some experience) that with greater attention it would succeed. The climate cannot, as it has been supposed, be wholly unfavourable, seeing that the plant grows wild on the hills, and that a very excellent dye is obtained from it by the simple processes there in use. The certainty of having rain for the spring sowings, and the possibility of choosing the ground above the chance of inundation, are among the advantages which I anticipate for the cultivation of indigo in these tracts.

Poppy, sugarcane, safflower, sursoo, and other plants yielding oil, flax and hemp, call for no particular notice, they are all cultivated with success in Kachar, Jynta, and (except the poppy) in the Eastern division of Sylhet.

Oranges, together with the arica and pān vines, for which this country is famous, are all the produce of the lower parts of the Kasia hills, growing only on the limestone strata. Arica of an inferior quality is indeed found all over Sylhet, but deteriorates in quality to the eastward, until in Kachar it wholly disappears. Among other fruits, the plaintain is peculiarly fine, but the mangoe is inferior, and is not found to improve to the eastward; the lemon is found wild in the Kasia hills, and the apricot and lichi in those of Kachar; and in general the vegetation exhibits so much variety, and there are so many

new plants offering themselves, as we advance eastward, that this, with the similarity of climate to that of the southern parts of China, led to the inquiries originally commenced by the late Mr. Scott for the tea plant, which if it has not yet been discovered in a wild state so far to the westward, would probably succeed on some of the soils in the alluvial formations of Kachar or Tippera. Several cognate plants have been found, and genuine tea plants were raised in my garden from seeds in 1835.

China root (Rhubarb?) and lignum aloes are mentioned as the produce of Sylhet in the "Ayin Akhbari," but I never heard that either engaged the attention of the trader.

Land Tenures and Revenue.—The tenures in Sylhet being derived mostly from the Mahomedan government, are similar to those of Bengal generally; but the condition of the land, which is subdivided to an extent elsewhere unknown, excites the attention of every intelligent inquirer. The permanent settlement included Sylhet, and about that time there were I think 27,000 proprietors enrolled in the Collector's books, since when, in consequence of subdivisions which have been facilitated rather than checked by the law, the number has more than trebled, and a revenue of three and a half lacs is now collected from a hundred thousand proprietors. The only species of holding which seems unknown in Sylhet, is that of the village community, or Bhya chara, and this is the more remarkable, as something very like it still exists in Kachar and Assam, and there seems so much reason to believe that it attained over the whole of Sylhet, as a part of the ancient Kamrup; indeed I think it will be found that it is to the breaking up of these communities, by admitting the individual holders to engagements with the State direct, that we must attribute the origin of the extraordinary number of petty holdings in this district. Notwithstanding the existence of some tenures of a different character in Assam, the most ancient form in that country, apparently, by which land was held, was under a grant from the prince addressed to a body of proprietors, who by it were erected into a corporation, called a Raj, and who possessed the land on terms by which they were bound each for the other, and for the revenue of the whole estate. In Kachar this is unquestionable, and indeed up to a recent period no other form of tenure was known or acknowledged. The pecuniary wants of the late

Rajahs led to the introduction among the Raj of titles borrowed from the Musalmans, such as Chrowdries, &c., but the ancient grants were directed only to the Bur Bhuyiah and Bhuyiah's, names which clearly refer to the soil (ভূমি) though they are not current beyond these countries. In every Raj were certain classifications of the proprietors, made however without reference to the local positions of their estates, but according as they were charged with the payment of revenue to the prince direct, or to some one in whose favour he had made an assignment. These were called Khels, and the principal among them was the Khilmah, which paid to the Rajah, while all the others, as the Sang-jurai, Dekha-jurai, &c. after paying a fixed proportion only to the prince, accounted for the balance to the Ranni, to the Jub Raj, or other holder of the assignment. The local administration and execution of the prince's orders were anciently intrusted to the Raj, subject only to an appeal to the Raja, and they had the power to settle land on terms similar to those by which they themselves held, transacting business in periodical meetings.

I cannot detail the steps by which the power, consequence, and very nature of these corporations were destroyed; but content myself with observing, that there is unquestionable evidence of the state of things I have described still extant in the country, while it is certain that the late Raja completed their subversion, and left to the Rajes nothing valuable but the name, by assessing each landholder according to the full extent of his cultivation, abolishing all local jurisdiction and authority, whether in judicial or fiscal matters, and reducing all the proprietors to a footing of equality; though he still most inconsistently held them responsible collectively for the revenue of their Khels, making over the estates of defaulters to their management after they had in effect ceased to be a corporate body.

Under every change the proprietors still retained their hereditary right in the soil, and the locality of each holding was ascertained from time to time by measurement, as the shares and boundaries of individuals varied continually under the influence of the laws of inheritance, though the boundaries of the Raj remained unchanged, unless by a special grant made by the authority of the prince to a new corporation out of the unoccupied waste. Much of the cultivation, at least since the decline of the kingdom from its former consequence, was performed on

the smaller Taluks by the holders themselves, assisted by their families, but the larger proprietors leased their lands to Packhastyuts, retained some portion to be cultivated by their slaves, and assigned another to their hereditary Ryots, a class of people whose position was analogous to the Khudkhast Ryot on the one hand, and to that of agricultural slaves on the other; for while they had a right to cultivate at fixed rates, and could not be removed, they were at the same time not only answerable for the rent, but not at liberty to throw up their lands, or quit the property.

I have been thus prolix in describing the Kachar tenures, because I think that an interest attaches to them on account of their antiquity, and because to them I think the existing tenures in Assam and Sylhet may with truth be traced. I conclude that the land in the latter district while it formed a part of Kamrup, were held by Raj corporations precisely similar to those of Kachar; as the Mahomedan conquerors advanced, they altered the old state of things by admitting the members of the Raj to engage individually for the revenue; or still more frequently by making grants to Musalman chiefs and colonists, who soon found it their interest to compound with the ancient proprietors, and accept a portion only of the Raj land, in preference to having the whole thrown on their hands denuded of cultivators, who rather than remain on their hereditary estates in the reduced condition of Ryots, would emigrate to the eastward. The portions given up by the old occupants would consist of shares of each Taluk, not of a parcel under continuous boundaries; and hence probably arose the strange intermixture of the lands composing the estates of the leading proprietors in Sylhet, which are commonly found in numerous small parcels, at great distances from each other. Acquisitions made subsequently by purchase or inheritance, with the practice of allowing all lands belonging to one proprietor to be recorded in the Revenue Offices under one number, without reference to their locality, would of course in time swell the number of these isolations.

It had always been the custom to regulate all revenue demands on the land where the separate holdings were so very small, by a measurement made with more or less accuracy; and accordingly at the formation of the perpetual settlement in Sylhet a departure from the general rule by which such measurements were at the time prohibited, was sanctioned in

that particular district. By the records of that survey, and consequent arrangements, it appears that only that portion of the district which was known to be occupied, and to which proprietary right distinctly attached, came under settlement, and though much of the land measured was recorded as *junglah*; recent surveys shew that there must have been vast tracts of waste, which were not included in the operations of that time. The cultivation of these wastes has given rise to a legal question, which has employed the talents, and engaged the attention of some of the ablest civilians of our day. It is well known that by the provisions of the permanent settlement, the right of government to derive an increase of revenue from an extension of cultivation on the estates then settled, was declared to be given up for ever, and it was even added, that the advantage of this declaration should be conceded to those whose lands had been withheld from assessment by fraud, collusion, or mistake. But wastes which at the time of the settlement were not included within the known boundaries of any estate, could not by any possibility be contemplated in this arrangement; and as it was known by general inquiries, which have since been confirmed by actual measurement, that the quantity of land under cultivation in Sylhet far exceeded the total on which the settlement had been concluded, it was quite clear that an acquisition had been made from the waste to which the government right for revenue would apply. Such lands have been called *Halabadee*, and have formed the subject of a most voluminous and intricate correspondence among the revenue officers for many years.

The right of government to revenue from lands which have been reclaimed from the waste, and not included under the settlement, is admitted by all who have made themselves acquainted with the subject, but the difficulty is, to distinguish such lands; and its possibility is by some authorities wholly denied. On the part of the government it is urged, that documents founded on the old survey are still in existence shewing the superficial contents of each estate at the time of settlement, and that if on a measurement a Taluk is now found to contain more land than the gross amount (*abadee* and *junglah*) for which it was assessed, there can be no doubt that the excess has been derived from the waste, and indeed it does not appear, *primâ facie*, that it could well be derived from any other source.

On the other side it is answered, that the documents alluded to cannot be relied on, and that even if they were worthy of more credit than can be conceded to them, still it would seem a good argument against a demand for increase of "jumma," if the Talukdar were to urge that the total quantity of land in his estate was put down originally too small, either in consequence of "fraud, collusion, or mistake." To this it has been rejoined, that there is of course no intention to deny the validity of such an objection in every case when it shall be satisfactorily established by evidence; and the parties seem thus to be at issue on the point, whether the revenue officers having shown that there is an excess of land, it rests with the Talukdar to prove that this excess was within his original boundary, or with the government to go one step further, and shew by additional proof that it was acquired from the waste.

In the course of this inquiry some documentary evidence was brought to light, calculated to facilitate the latter course of proceeding very much. This was contained in certain records prepared soon after the settlement, and shewing the boundaries, locality, and estimated extent of the waste lands which had been reserved from the settlement. These papers were very incomplete, and did not include the whole of the wastes; but on a measurement of the lands indicated by them, a very considerable quantity of cultivation was elicited, upon which the claim for revenue was admitted, and a much larger quantity on which it was nearly certain it could be established. I have had no opportunity of learning the result of these inquiries, having been removed from the district before they were completed.

The revenue of Kachar was derived, at the time of its acquisition by us, from a land tax levied at a rate much higher than that of Sylhet, from customs levied on all the frontiers at most extravagant rates, from a sort of excise taken at all Bazars, from monopolies of every thing valuable in trade, as ivory, timber, &c. and from a house tax on the inhabitants of the mountains. The first steps taken for the reform of this department were, the abolition of all monopolies, the removal of all prohibition on exports and imports, the abolition of the excise, and the reduction of duties in the external trade. The immediate results were, an increase of trade, the customs on which, though levied at very reduced rates, yielded a far larger amount than

under the old system was obtained from the whole of the Sayer Mahal, and I think this branch of revenue quadrupled itself in five years, thus affording another verification of the principle in finance,—that low duties by encouraging consumption, will be found more productive than high ones, which on the contrary check it.

The sources of revenue in Jynta were very dissimilar to those of Kachar, as the Raja of that country having acquired the plains by conquest, appears to have abrogated the hereditary rights of the landholders, and to have allowed none to hold except on terms annually granted or renewed at his pleasure, and which were very various. The plains of Jynta were probably conquered from Sylhet since the days of Akbar, one of the Mahus in the “Ayin Akhbhari” being called Chyntar, which may well be a mistranscription, the Persian letter چ having been mistaken for ج.

History and people.—My notices of the history and people of these countries will necessarily be brief, as I do not propose to record the story of their petty dissensions and change of governors, but rather to collect and point attention to such facts whether derived from tradition or otherwise, as may throw light on the origin and migrations of the races which inhabit them, and this the more especially, as I am not aware that in so doing, I shall suppress any thing of real interest.

Kacharis.—According to records preserved among the family of the last princes of Kachar (which however are but traditions reduced to writing) the Kacharis conquered the kingdom of Kamrup, and gave to it a succession of Rajas from whom the late royal family of Kachar, of the line of Ha-tsung-tsa, derive their descent. The term Kachari is of modern date, the proper name by which that people call themselves being Rangtsa, and the country from which they trace their origin being situated in the north-east of Assam.

It is known that Kamrup extended anciently to the southward as far as the confluence of the Megna with the Brahmaputra; and the Kacharis appear to have established themselves in the countries east of that line, including Assam, Sylhet, Tippera, and modern Kachar, or Hirumbha, in all of which, except Sylhet, they are found as a distinct people differing in appearance, religion, and customs from the other inhabitants.

The Ha-tsung-tsa family was expelled from Kamrup by the Rajas of Kooch Behar, and being driven* into Hirumbha maintained themselves in a reduced but independent form until the time of Raja Gobindchundra, who after many vicissitudes of fortune, became in 1824 a British tributary, and being murdered in 1830, and leaving no blood relations, terminated the line.

The people of Tippera are said to have the same origin with the Kacharis, and the similarity of religion, customs, and appearance, makes this probable. It may be added, that the Rajas of both countries have formerly acknowledged the connexion; the Tippera family being described as a younger branch of the ancient royal family, which in their expulsion from Kamrup established itself independently in the country which it formerly held as an appendage.

The dates of these transactions cannot be traced, but the Assam Baranjis state, that at the commencement of the Ahom dynasty in upper Assam, in the 12th century, the Kooch Behar princes had possession of Kamrup, from which, as well as from the date of the first Mahomedan expedition into Kamrup (in 1204) it may be concluded that the subversion of the Kachar dynasty considerably preceded that era, and that the assertion made by the Kachar chiefs, that their ancestors conquered Assam about one thousand years ago, is tolerably correct.

The existence in Kachar, even in these days, of many poor and proud families who disdain to labour for their subsistence, and look to official employment alone as a becoming source of livelihood, the number of offices, and their nature, so inconsistent with the poverty and insignificance of the late petty Court, are among the circumstances which attest the credibility of the story of former power, and taken with traditions current in these countries, entitle the pretensions of the Kacharis to a degree of credit, which they would not otherwise deserve.

The Kachari language is unwritten, having been superseded for all purposes of business by the Bengali for many centuries, and this circumstance greatly increases the difficulty of all attempts to trace the

* The tradition is, that the invaders from Kooch Behar were preceded by Brahmans mounted on cows, against whom the Kacharis either could not, or dare not, oppose themselves; but this is obviously a Hindu fiction.

origin of the people through that medium. Greater probability of success offers through a careful examination of their religion and customs, on which points my inquiries will, I think, be found not to be without use. Although Brahmanism professes to receive no converts, yet great efforts have been made to bring within the pale of Hinduism both the Kacharis, the Munipories, and most of the tribes to the eastward. It is matter of history that Brahmanism had no root in Assam earlier than the middle of the 16th century, though it has since attained to such power as to shake the throne of that country. In Munipore its progress has been still more recent, but in Kachar Proper, or Hirumbha, the process of conversion has been going on before our eyes, and actually commenced within the last fifty years. The father and uncle of the two last Rajas professed the old religion, and did not conform to Brahmanism; but Krishna and Gobindchundra, about the year 1790 A. D., were both placed, with certain ceremonies, in the body of a large copper image of a cow, and thence produced by Bengali Brahmins as reclaimed Hindus to an admiring people. Place was assigned them as Chhettry of the Suraj Bungsi tribe, and numbers of their followers, after their example, were admitted to caste, and are called Hindus; but still greater numbers were infinitely disgusted at the whole procedure, and there can be little doubt that the divisions to which it gave rise, and the injudicious persecutions by which it was followed, were at the root of all the misfortunes by which the country was soon visited.

The ancient religion of Kachar is not clearly referable to any of the forms existing in Eastern Asia, and certainly not to any of the Hindu systems, as will appear by the following account. The Kacharis acknowledge a Supreme Being, or first principle, from which the world and all that it contains is derived. They worship the manifest powers of nature, or rather spirits having authority over them, and the influences of the seasons.

No superstitious regard is paid to animal life, and even the cow was not anciently held sacred.

There is no class set apart for the priesthood, neither do any take upon themselves exclusively sacerdotal functions; but these are performed by the elders in families, and by the ministers of state, and high public functionaries, on great public occasions. There was how-

ever one officer who had charge of the series of ceremonies performed in the spring of the year, but his duty was abolished by the jealousy or bigotry of the late Rajas. Among their superstitions, it is the practice to perform sacrifice before a bamboo planted in the ground, and into which it is maintained the Power worshipped enters, on being duly propitiated, and causes the boughs to bend in token of his approbation. This custom is common also to the Tipperas.

The indifference shown for animal life, and the absence of an established and hereditary priesthood, mark sufficiently the disconnexion with Hinduism, and the disregard for caste may be taken as an additional proof of this; for though the people are divided into forty Sympongs, these are only so many social distinctions, or tribes, and they are not prohibited from intermarrying or eating together, which they accordingly frequently do. All these circumstances considered, it will be found that this superstition more resembles the system of Confucius than any thing Indian.

The law of inheritance appears to be, that all property descends in equal shares among the male children, and afterwards, in the natural order of succession, to the brothers and brothers issue; but as the leading men formerly made no acquisitions in land (for the Kachari cultivation is carried on by the inferior classes in a species of coparcenary) the subject has not given rise to much investigation. Marriages seem to have been contracted spontaneously, without the direct intervention of friends, but polygamy was allowed, and by the richer classes indulged in to a great extent. The marriage of widows was sanctioned, though not encouraged, and in order to escape the scandal of such connexions, it seems to have been usual for widows, at least among the higher ranks, to reside in the families of their deceased husband's brother, by which it has after happened that more scandal was created than it was intended to avoid.

Among peculiar customs, for which no reason appears, it seems to have been a rule that the Rajah should never reside in a building of masonry, but in bungalows surrounded by a stockaded enclosure, perhaps to remind him of his origin among the woods of upper Assam.

The worship of irascible female spirits, and the practice of the Tantra magic ascribed by the Hindus to the people of Kamrup, are imputations which derive some countenance from the existing worship of

Ramchundi, the Thakoorain of Kachar, who is adored under the symbol of a sword, religiously preserved in the Rajbarri, and to the possession of which the most inexpressible importance is attached. It is worthy of remark, that no image of any thing having life is worshipped in Kachar, nor are there either in that country or Sylhet any remains of antique buildings, and especially of Hindu buildings, to attest the existence at an early date of a Hindu population. There is a footstep cut in the rock on the ridge east of Aquee, said by the people of both Kachar and Munipur to have been made by the gods as a boundary mark between the two states: this may be one of the numerous footsteps of Gautama, but there is obviously no certainty about its antiquity.

Kasias.—Among the aboriginal tribes, the Kasias, or more correctly (as they style themselves) the Khyee, attract the most attention, standing as much distinguished from their neighbours in personal appearance, and social and religious customs, as their country is different from others in geological structure and physical aspect. The Khyee are an athletic race of mountaineers, fond still of a martial appearance, and their reputation as warriors is hardly extinct, as their extensive feudatory inroads are still remembered in Sylhet and Assam, the plains of which countries they formerly laid under contribution very frequently. The religion of the Kasias does not assimilate with any of the known Indian systems, but is limited to certain superstitious practices (among which the augury seems to be in greatest esteem) and to the reverence for, and sacrifice to, the presiding deities of villages, hills, and similar localities, but does not comprehend the knowledge of a universal, all-pervading Intelligence, such as is acknowledged by the Kacharis, or the immortality of the soul. Brahmanism has made some progress among the Kasias, especially of Jynta, and some of the higher classes there have adopted Hindu practices, and obtained admission among the Sudra castes, but this has not led to the entire abandonment of their national superstitions, connected with which was the cruel abomination of human sacrifice, for being accessory to which the last Raja lost his throne and country.

The great peculiarity among the Khyee, and that by which perhaps their remote connexion with other tribes will be established, is the

custom which prevails in regard to the descent of both personal and real property, and which holds equally of regal authority. By this all property and right passes to the eldest son of the nearest female relative in the descending line, or generally, to the son of the eldest sister of the holder. Whatever laxity may be observed in regard to other practices, and however some of the upper ranks may conform to the rules of caste, and desire admission among the Hindus, this custom is by all most tenaciously adhered to. They are further charged with the practice of polyandry, but however it may in reality be tolerated, the upper classes in general disclaim it, and it can be said to prevail only among the poorer sort, with whom too it would often seem to mean rather facility of divorce than the simultaneous admission of a plurality of husbands. It is possible, however, that unqualified polyandry existed formerly, and that it has fallen into disrepute since a more intimate connexion with the plains has sprung up.

The Khyee language is unwritten, and moreover exhibits no affinity with any of the languages of the neighbourhood, some of which, (numerous and diversified as they are), often offer indications of a common origin, but the point is of less importance, as among the rude mountain tribes great dissimilarity of language has been observed to exist, even where a common origin was nearly certain. There are no antique remains, or works of art, on which to build conjectures as to the condition of the people by whom the country was anciently occupied, for though there are several considerable rude stone columnar erections, yet there is nothing peculiar or artificial in their construction, and they are exceeded in magnitude and vastness of design by Stonehenge, and by the Masses seen in Mexico. No mechanical contrivances were employed in raising either these columns, or the circular slabs which are often met, but they were constructed by manual labor, some of them being of recent times. There is however a stone bridge of considerable dimensions in the Jynta mountains, the style of which is Saracenic, but it is quite possible the work may have been constructed by a Mussulman in the employment of the Raja at no very distant period. No great respect is paid by the Khyee to hereditary chiefs, though their rank is readily admitted, but their influence depends more on their personal character, and their power to guide the public

assemblies, without which nothing is decided either among the community collectively, or the villages separately.

Destruction of human life, whether by accident or design, in open war or in secret, is always the cause of feud among the relations of the parties, which are terminated only by reprisals, or a compensation in money.

The equipment of a Khyee chief is martial and striking in appearance; a tunic of strong cloth, bordered by party colors, without sleeves, well adapted to muscular exertions, sits close to his body above the waist; an ample shield of buffaloe hide or brass is slung at his back, and leaves him at liberty to employ both his hands either with the bow, the javelin, or a powerful two-handed sword which hangs by his side. This sword is unique in kind, and more like the German or Swiss weapon than any thing Indian. The bow is of bamboo, and is fitted with a slip of the same substance in place of twine, as it never softens in rain, and is equally useful in all weathers. It is to the credit of the Khyee that though acquainted with the use of poisoned arrows they never employ them against their fellow men in war, but only in the chase against wild beasts. A series of destructive defeats during a protracted contest with the Government troops has not entirely destroyed the martial disposition of this people, who probably still retain the remembrance of those days in which their fathers pillaged both Sylhet and Assam.

Conjecture is lost in assigning a probable origin to the Khyees. Segregated strictly in a tract of country as different from the neighbourhood as they themselves are from the other tribes, they seem to owe the retention of their independence entirely to their personal qualities, as their mountains are by no means difficult of access. I am quite sensible that verbal analogy affords but a slight foundation on which to build an hypothesis, but I may nevertheless mention, that a people resembling the Khyee in some particulars formerly occupied a position on the south bank of the Brahmaputra at Measpara, where they were called Mek; they were known to have come originally from the frontiers of Butan and Nipal; the Khyee are called Mike by the Kacharis, and their customs in regard to marriage assimilate to those of Butan. The theory which would assign a western origin to the Khyee is countenanced by their appearance, and especially by the absence in them of

those peculiarities about the eye which stamp the tribes of Indo-Chinese origin.

Nagas.—The Nagas are found in all the tracts east of the Kupili River, as far as the country of the Khamtis, much of which is unexplored. This generic name seems to have been applied to them by the Hindus of the plain, with reference either to their scanty clothing, or more probably to their residence in the mountains, but is not acknowledged among themselves or the other hill tribes, among whom they call themselves “Kwaphee.” They are associated commonly with the Kukis or Koonjye, from whom however they are essentially distinct in customs, and personal appearance. The Nagas though often powerful men, yet do not commonly display those marks from which great strength may be inferred. Their limbs have not the massive configuration of the Kukis and other hill men. It is a distinguishing particular of the Naga tribes that they are not a migratory or wandering people, and while the hill Kacharis and Kukis continually change their locations, seldom keeping their villages more than three years in one spot, the Nagas remain fixed, and their insignificant villages, which appear in one of Rennell’s early Maps, are to be found still as they stood in 1764. Again, the Nagas are remarkable as using no weapons but the javelin and dao, a sort of bill common to the Birmas, Shans, and most of the hill tribes except the Kasias; and they have no prejudices on the score of food, eating every thing indiscriminately, as well that flesh which has been slain for food as that which has not. In common with the Kukis and Garrows however they abstain strictly from milk, butter, or ghee, looking on the use of them with great aversion. The religion of both tribes is limited to a few superstitious practices, differing among themselves, but presenting nothing from which their origin or connexion with other tribes is to be inferred.

Kukis.—The Kukis have long been notorious for their attacks on the peaceable inhabitants of the plains, to whom along the Sylhet and Kachar frontier they have at times been very troublesome. In addition to the javelin they employ bows and poisoned arrows, a practice perhaps suggested by their contests with the larger animals, as elephants and tigers, with which their forests abound. The object of their inroads on the plains is not plunder, for which they have never

been known to shew any desire, but they kill and carry away the heads of as many human beings as they can seize, and have been known in one night to carry off fifty. These are used in certain ceremonies performed at the funerals of the chiefs, and it is always after the death of one of their Rajas that their incursions occur.

The proper limits of the Kukis are undefined, but they never seem to have stretched northward of Chattrchura peak, and Kukitunga on the frontier of Sylhet, nor above Soor and Tungtching in Kachar. The villages at Abong in Upper Kachar are exceptions, but they are well known to have been settled by Raja Krishnachundra with Kukis from the southward, who had sought his protection. The Kukis have been accused of cannibalism, and I am aware of an instance in which the charge seemed substantiated, but they disclaim the imputation with much vehemence, and I have seen no reason to think that the practice is frequent among them.

People of Sylhet.—The inhabitants of Sylhet are Bengalis, and not distinguishable from that race in the districts to the westward. On a closer examination, however, it will be observed that the lower classes, especially the inferior castes of Hindu cultivators, bear marks of their indigenous origin, and a striking difference may be remarked between their features and those of the Musulman descendants of the colonists by whom the country was gradually conquered. The few families of any consideration in the district are known to be of Hindustani or Persian origin, and these are the most respected, though they have been superseded of late years by one or two considerable Hindu houses, which have acquired fortune and consequence in our service. There are also some Musulman families, descendants of chiefs or Rajas under the Kamrup dynasty, who were forced to conform to Mahomedanism on the change of masters; of these the principal is that of the Baniachuny Raja, whose ancestor was probably the party conquered by Esau Afghan, in the reign of Akhbar, when “the kutbeh was read, and the coin struck in the Bhatta country,” according to Abul Fuzil. It must have been a Raja of the same family also who was attacked in 1254 A. D. by Mulic Yuzbeg, the Governor of Bengal, who afterwards lost his life in Southern Assam, or rather in the mountains between Assam and Sylhet. The family though converted to Mahomedanism has always retained the title

of Raja: it is fast going to ruin under the joint influence of the laws of inheritance and improvident habits.

It is impossible (and if possible would be tedious) to trace the steps by which the progressive conquest of this part of Kamrup was effected, but some of the principal may, I think, be satisfactorily established, and will be found worthy of attention. The earliest Mahomedan invasion is that of Mahomed Bukhtiyar, who is said to have penetrated through Kamrup into Thibet in A. D. 1205-6; and as I think his expedition, though unsuccessful, called forth a display of energy and talent calculated to excite our admiration of these early adventurers, I shall offer no apology for attempting to elucidate it.

Mahomed Bukhtiyar was the Governor of Behar, and in 1203 A. D. entered Bengal, and having rapidly overcome that country, he immediately turned his forces against Kamrup, which appears to have been then a powerful kingdom, and worthy of his arms. The accounts of his expedition, left us by Mahomedan writers, state that he proceeded from Dacca, opening for himself a road along the banks of the Luckia; that he marched under the guidance of a hill chief, of the tribe called Koonch, whom he had converted to Islamism; that they reached a mighty river "three times as wide as the Ganges" called the Bangmuttee, on which stood a city called Burdehund, which he captured; that after marching ten days along the banks of this river, they entered the defiles of the mountains, having passed which, they crossed the river (Brahmaputra?) by a stone bridge of twenty-two arches, after which the Raja of Kamrup submitted. He then moved into the Butan mountains, and reached the plains of Thibet, where his army was so roughly handled in a battle with the people of the country, and alarmed by an expected attack from the chief of a city called Kerrimpatan, which was governed by a Christian, having under him a Butia population with Brahman officers, that they retreated, and finding the bridge broken down by the Kamrup Raja, who now harassed them in every way, they returned, utterly discomfited with the loss of the greater part of their number, to Bengal, where Mahomed Bukhtiyar died of grief and vexation. I must own the latter part of this narrative is quite inexplicable on any hypothesis, except that of the fancy of the writers, or their desire to account for a defeat which was most likely the consequence of disease and privation. But the

first part admits of some explanations, calculated to remove apparent inconsistencies, and to render the story up to the passage of the bridge sufficiently credible. The points which demand elucidation are, the locality of the Bangmuttee and its extraordinary size; the stone bridge of twenty-two arches; and the name of the river over which it was thrown. In the narrative three hill tribes are mentioned, the Koonch, the Mikah, and the Nadera; the Koonch it has been supposed are the people of Kooch Bahar, but however this may be, there is no difficulty about the Mikah, that being the name by which the Kasias at this day are known among the Kacharis; and *Mikedeetah* being the title of an officer who had charge of the frontier with that people, and such of them as occasionally took up their residence within the Kachar jurisdiction; and as it is expressly stated that the Mahomedan army *crossed the mountains, before* they reached the bridge, and before the Raja submitted, I conclude, that they entered Lower Assam, not by Goalpara, but by the Kasia or Kachar mountains. The river, three times as wide as the Ganges, could not have been the Brahmaputra, both because Mahomedan writers shew themselves acquainted with that river, and because no one who had seen the rivers about Dacca, could ever fancy the Brahmaputra above the Luckia to be even wider than the Ganges; but to reach the Kasia Hills, they must have marched along the edge of the inundation in the Bhatta country, most likely before the waters had much abated, and they mistook that for a river.

No river called Bangmuttee (burster of earth) is now known in the north-east parts of Bengal, but there is a place called Bangha, which derives its name, without question, from its position at the fork of the Soorma and Kusiara rivers, where the latter *bursts* from the former and rushes towards the Bhatta country. It should here too be remarked, that Bhangh (ভাঙ্গ) means to walk through water or mud, as well as to burst or break, and the expression therefore is applicable to the inundation. As the guide was called Ali Mikah, I conclude that he was a Kasia, and led the army over his native mountains to some point on the Burrampootah, where a temporary bridge, composed of timber, supported on pieces of rough stone, might be erected, and where the breadth would not be so great, but that in the dry season twenty-two arches might suffice for the passage over the actual stream.

If any doubt should still be entertained, that the first Mahomedan expeditions into Kamrup and Assam passed through the mountains north of Sylhet, I may mention, that in 1256 A. D. Malec Yusbeg, who had invaded Kamrup from Bengal, was killed while retreating "across the mountains;" and that between 1489 and 1499 Ala-Udin, having "*first overrun Assam,*" proceeded westward to the conquest of Kamrup, which course is impossible on any other supposition, than that he entered Assam by the way either of Hirumbah or Sylhet, most likely the former.

Mahomed Bukhtiyar's army consisted of ten thousand men, chiefly Tartar cavalry, and that he was able to subsist them, proves that the countries through which he passed must have been well cultivated; but when we reflect that this expedition was made before the invention of fire-arms, and that the invaders had therefore no advantage over the people of the country in regard to their weapons, while the country is in no part favourable for cavalry, we cannot but feel our respect for the skill, energy, and enterprize of the early Mahomedan conquerors of India considerably elevated.

The condition of Sylhet, as noticed in the *Ayin Akhbari*, with the fact formerly noticed, that the Bhatta country was only recently conquered, proves that in the time of Akhbar, the district had not acquired above one half of its present dimensions, and this supposition is confirmed by *Sunnuds* bearing date in the 15th and 16th centuries, shewing that adventurers were encouraged to make war upon "the infidels" on the frontier, and that lands were granted, of which they were to obtain possession by force. The town of Sylhet existed in the time of Akhbar, and as this is known to date from the Mosque built over the tomb of Sha Gelaal, its patron saint, who conquered it from a native Raja, we may assume, that the current tradition, which assigns its erection to the middle of the 13th century, is correct.

The first appearance of the English power occurs in 1762, when a detachment of five companies of Sipahis under the direction of Mr. H. Verelst marched from Chittagong under the Tippera Hills through the southern part of Sylhet into Kachar, where they remained nearly a year, encamping at Kaspur, then the capital and residence of Raja Hurrishchunder. After a lapse of seventy years the object of this

march had been forgotten, except by a few old persons, who stated that it was for the conquest of Manipur, and this statement has proved to be correct, the researches of Captain Pemberton having elicited the original treaty concluded with the chief of Chittagong, under which it was agreed that the Raja Jy Sinh of Manipur, who had been expelled by the Burmans, should be restored by us on certain conditions, chiefly of a commercial nature. The expedition was prevented by the difficulty of the country from proceeding beyond Kaspur, and was recalled to assist in the war against Kasim Ali Khan.

In 1774 a detachment under Major Henniker was employed against the Raja of Jynta, whose country was conquered, but restored on payment of a fine. The cause of this collision is supposed to have been connected with the marauding habits to which the Kasias were then addicted, and which had not yet been suppressed.

There is but one point of general interest untouched, upon which I wish to offer a few words before concluding this very long paper. Slavery has always existed in these countries, and the number of persons in that unhappy condition is very large. In former days there is no doubt great atrocities were committed in regard to this matter, whole families of hill people being sometimes carried off openly, sometimes kidnapped, and sometimes brought under the pressure of famine, an evil of frequent occurrence among the hills. Even in our days a regular traffic was carried on in slaves, numbers being annually exported from Kachar to Aracan through the British territories. This was brought to the notice of the Civil authorities some years ago, and effectually checked for the future; but the law still permits domestic or local slavery, though it prohibits exportation, and while the hill people continue to make war on each other, and to sell their children in times of scarcity, perhaps it is only a wise discretion, which allows the existence of this great moral blot on society. But apart from legislative provisions, there is a course by which the evil might be gradually eradicated, while prodigious benefit in another shape, would at the same time be conferred on all the countries in which it exists. This is the formation of an establishment for the purchase and manumission of slaves, more especially of children, which are often sold at very low prices. These well brought up, and instructed in the useful arts as husbandmen and artizans, would in a few years become

the means of operating a great improvement in the social condition of the people among whom they would spread, and to whom they would offer the sort of information which is required to elevate them in the scale of civilization, by the example of superior morality, intelligence, and well directed industry, which they might be expected to exhibit.

The number of people in all these districts is on the increase, in a country where every thing tends to encourage increase, and where the checks, both positive and moral, are as entirely absent as they appear to be in China. The census* taken in 1820, shewed the inhabitants of Sylhet had more than doubled since 1801, and if little dependance can be placed on the accuracy of these returns, enough is known from other sources to warrant the belief of an enormous increase. The quantity of land brought into cultivation, and the creation of new estates by the subdivision of the old ones, are among the most unquestionable proofs of this assertion.

Whatever doubts may be entertained, reasonably or otherwise, of the advantages resulting to India from the rule of Britain, I cannot omit to record my humble testimony to its value in this quarter, or to state my belief that as in no other parts which I have visited, has that rule been more manifestly exerted for the good of the people, so in no other has it called forth more unequivocal marks of loyalty, attachment, and confidence; and far off may the day be, when these shall abate. In proof of this, I may notice the behaviour of the people during the invasion of Kachar in 1824, by the Burmans, when they advanced to the very frontier of Sylhet without in any way affecting its tranquillity. But in a more trying emergency, when the British troops were withdrawn for the protection of Dacca, the people of Sylhet not only remained loyal, but an offer was actually made by some influential men to raise a levy *en masse* with which to oppose the enemy, and a small force was actually embodied, the men of which, by their local knowledge and endurance of climate, proved of considerable use. The readiness with which these took service at such a time, must be laid to the account of some deeper feeling than ordinary (for their homes were on the very frontier),

* In 1801 number of persons, 492,945. In 1820, number of persons 1,083,720.

and that unquestionably was the dread of the devastation which accompanied the Burmese advance; but if the existing Government had been unpopular, all would have been at least indifferent at a change of masters, and some certainly would have intrigued with the enemy. But nothing of the kind occurred, and I even succeeded in inducing some who had been released, after falling into the enemy's hands, to return and act as spies on our behalf, at the risk of every thing which a Hindu (and these were Brahmuns) values more than life.

On the other hand, many of the inhabitants of Kachar disgusted and worn out by the oppressions of their native chiefs, did coalesce with the Burmans, thereby proving that their dread of that sanguinary people could be overcome by their sense of the intolerable character of the Government under which they were groaning, and that they had reached a point in endurance, at which any change appeared for the better.

Memorandum on the Silk Trade between Shikarpore and Khorassan, and on the produce of Indigo in Sinde. By Lieut. J. POSTANS, Assistant Political Agent, Upper Sinde.

The importation of raw silk from the north-west to Shikarpore is one of the most important branches of the import trade from that direction; the article appears to be of a superior description, and as I am not aware of its being known in the Bombay market, I have collected the following particulars to accompany samples.

The following are the descriptions of the raw silk, with the prices of each in the Shikarpore Bazar, import duty paid (at one rupee six annas per maund).

- No. 1. "*Kokanee*," from Bokhara (produced in Toorkistan) price 10* Shikarpore rupees per *assar*.
 No. 2. "*Toonee*," from Kerat (produced in Toorkistan) 13 Rs. 12 annas per *assar*.

* Silk raw and in thread, prepared, is weighed at the rate of 90¼ Shikarpore rupees, or 1 *assar*, or 88 Company's rupees last coinage. The Shikarpore rupee at present is worth 94¾ Company's per 100 Shikarpore, or 5¼ per cent in favour of the former.

- No. 3. "*Shal bafee*," from Kerat (produced in Toorkistan) 15 Rs. 10 annas per *assar*.
 ,, 4. "*Nawabee*," from Bokhara, do. 14 Rs. 12 annas per *assar*.
 ,, 5. "*Gheelanee*," from Kermare and Fezed, do. 9 Rs. per *assar*.
 ,, 6. "*Kaloocheer*," from Kerat do. 9 Rs. per *assar*.

The value of annual imports may be about 50,000 rupees, and the route is through the great pass of the Bolan; the traders are principally Affghauns, who visit Shikarpore with the annual Kaffillas from October to March, though much of the article is purchased by the Hindoo agents of the Shikarpore sowcars, who are to be found in all the important cities and marts of the north-west, (see Sir A. Burnes' report on the trade of Shikarpore.)

Nos. 1, 2, 5, 6 of the raw silks above enumerated, are prepared for weaving, and dyed at Shikarpore. The *Shal bafee* and *Nawabee*, Nos. 3 and 4, are manufactured at Roree, on the opposite bank of the Indus, into a silk fabric, known as "*Duryaee*," value at Roree, 7 annas per guz. The silk thread prepared at Shikarpore, and hereafter enumerated, principally finds a market at Khyrpore, Sukkur, Roree, Larkhana, Gundava, Bagh in Cutchee, and towards Lower Scindh, as far as Sehwan and Tattah, where it is manufactured into "*Loonghis*" of various descriptions, "*Gul-budduns*," and other fabrics used in the country. The raw material, or prepared thread, does not appear to enter into the export trade of Shikarpore, with the marts of the neighbouring countries.

List of prepared silk threads from the raw "*Kokanee*."

- No. 1. "*Pestakee*," yellow, Gooljuleel, (Mettilat) dye, price 20 Rs. per *assar*.
 ,, 2. "*Chumunee*," light green, mixture of Indigo with the above; 20 Rs. per do.
 ,, 3. "*Subz*," dark green do do. do., 20 Rs. per do.
 ,, 4. "*Soormar*," Indigo do. 20. Rs. per do.
 ,, 5. "*Koombar*," orange, Koomba (safflower) dye do. 28 Rs. per do.
 ,, 6. "*Tillar*," deep yellow (light gold) Koombeera? dye do. 16 do.
 ,, 7. "*Koormis*," cochineal dye, crimson, do. 21 Rs. 12 annas per do.
 ,, 8. "*Ucho*" white, undyed do. 20 Rs. do.

List of prepared thread from the raw "*Toonee*".

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. <i>Pistakee</i> , | } Same dyes
used as the
above, price
24 Rs. per
} assar. |
| 2. <i>Chumunee</i> , | |
| 3. <i>Subz</i> , | |
| 4. <i>Ashmanee</i> (light blue Indigo) | |
| 5. <i>Achoo</i> , | |
| 6. Three shades of cochineal, Rs. 26-12 per seer. | |

The raw silks "*Gheilanee*" and "*Kuloochur*," are not in any general use, "*Kokanee*" and "*Toonee*," being the principal importations, and the most in use.

The expense of transmitting goods from Shikarpore to the sea, by water carriage, may be easily ascertained, as certain rates have been established by the British Government for freight by packet boats; thus, from Sukkur to Kurrachee Buncher, one Company's rupee per maund dead weight, or one rupee per cubic foot for light goods. The expense of transport from Shikarpore to Sukkur by the Scindh Canal, is $\frac{1}{4}$ rupee per maund, or 2 Rs. per camel, carrying 5 maunds; the export town duties to be paid at Shikarpore. Export duties again at Kurrachee on raw silk would be thus—

1st. Duties on purchasing in the bazar, and clearing the town of Shikarpore, as far as the *Scindh* Canal—Shikarpore rupees 16: 4: 0 per maund.

2nd. Export duty at Kurrachee about 5 Rs. per cent.

A calculation from the above may be pretty accurately formed of the price at which the article would come into the Bombay market; and as it will hereafter be to the interests of the native governments to modify many of the imports which may at present be considered vexatious and offensive upon trade, silk and other commodities from the north-west may, with the advantage of water carriage from Shikarpore to the presidency, enter considerably into the market of Bombay by the route of the Indus.

Memorandum on Indigo.

The important article of Indigo, for the production of which the Punjab and countries bordering the Indus would appear to possess equal advantages with Bengal and the Delta of the Ganges, cannot fail to attract considerable attention, in connection with the trade of the former river, and will in all probability enter considerably into the return commodities to be looked for from those countries. The following is the amount of last year's crops for the Punjab, Bhawalpore, and Khyrpore territories, with the present prices, on the spot, of the different descriptions.

In the *Punjab* estimated quantity 17,700 maunds ; thus produced—

Districts.

1 Dera Ghazee Khan.	Mds.	3,000
2 Sooltan and Gungera.	,,	3,000
3 Gullioon, Jetepore, Noorshera, and Soonwall, ..	,,	3,500
4 Canals of Sirdarwar and Bahwalwar.	,,	1,200
5 Mooltan and its districts.	,,	5,000
6 Soonadur Mahamad Kot Luwah Bukhur.	,,	2,000

In the Bhawalpore territories, 4,000

Districts.

1 Khanpore.	,,	3,000
2 Ahmedpore.	,,	1,000

In the Khyrpore territories, 2,000

Districts.

1 Meer Mobarick.	,,	600
2 Meer Rustam.	,,	300
3 Meer Alli Morad.	,,	900
4 Various places towards Hyderabad.	,,	200

The total may thus be estimated at about 24,000, of which three-fourths find a market in Khorassan, the remainder divided between the home consumption and exports to Muscat and Bombay.

The following is a list of prices at the several places where the article is grown (duties unpaid) at Dera Ghazee Khan, a mixture of five descriptions of Indigo, known as

		Punjmal,	..	...	...	...	Rs. 45 per maund.
Punjaub.	{	No. 2	...	...	...	...	50
		3	...	..	...	...	52
		4	...	...	...	...	55
		5 (best quality)	...	...	...	...	60
		6	...	...	...	...	54
Bhawulpore.	{	1	...	...	...	...	56
		2	...	...	...	...	58
Khyrpore.	{	1	...	...	...	...	57
		2	...	...	...	...	58
		3	...	...	...	..	60
		4	...	...	...	...	55
		5	...	...	...	...	60*

Not having had the opportunity of inspecting the methods of cultivating and preparing the dye in these countries, I cannot offer any remarks or suggestions on their improvement, but there can be no doubt that there is plenty of room for the introduction of a superior system, as employed by the European growers of Bengal. One is evident, in the necessity of packing it in squares, and not in the present small pieces, whereby much waste appears to be occasioned.

The duties and expenses on the purchase and transmission of Indigo by the river Indus to Bombay may be thus estimated—

1st. In the Punjaub, a duty on the purchase and clearing, of Rs. 4 per maund.

2nd. In the Bhawulpore territories the duty amounts to † Rs. 3 : 8 : 0

* The maund differs according to the country. Indigo in the Shikarpore market is weighed by the maund of 40 assars, each assar being equal to Shikarpore Rs. 83, or Company's Rupees 79 in weight.

† One-fourth of all Indigo purchased in the territories of Bhawulkhan, is from the Government share of produce, on which a duty of 10 Rs. per maund is levied, whilst the other three-fourths pay at the rate of 1 Rupee 8 annas per maund, making an average of about 3½ Rupees for the *whole*. (ex-gra;—Thus, of 20 maunds purchased, 5 would pay Rs. 50, and the remainder 22 : 8 : 0, or about 3½ Rs. for the whole.)

3rd. In the Khyrpore territories the duty amounts to R. 1 : 2, per md.

4th. Independent of the above, the transit duties are thus—

In the Punjaub, at Mittun Kote, Rs. 46 : 4, per boat load.

In the Bhawalpore territories, Rs. 30 ditto

In the Khyrpore territories none. All transit duties on the river through the Hyderabad and Khyrpore territories are cancelled under a "Rahdaree Purwannah" from the British authorities.

The expenses of water carriage to Bombay is calculated by the dealers at about two Rupees per maund from Mooltan, and as the duties levied at the former place are known, an estimate may be formed of the price at which Indigo from the countries bordering on the Indus may be brought into the Bombay market. In Shikarpore this article does not enter largely into the trade, the consumption being only about 100 maunds annually; it passes through Shikarpore, however, in transit to Khorassan by the route of the Bolan pass, but the greater quantity before alluded to, finds its way to Cabul, Bokhara, &c. by the route of the Khybur, or the Daman pass; the latter through the agency of the Lohana traders and their Kaffillas.

On the Historical Geography of Hindustan, and the origin of the Social State among the Hindus. By JAS. BIRD, Esq.

The state of India previous to the Mohammedan invasion, is a subject of perplexity; as the interested and fabulous narratives of sectaries present but a few isolated facts to guide us in forming an opinion of the original system of Hinduism, civil and religious.

Many, in conducting this investigation, have been more zealous in supporting the antiquity of the present Hindu social state, than in searching after historical truth; and, while unable to explain why the Sanscrit language enters so extensively into the provincial dialects, without granting that it was the primitive tongue, they have contended for the prevalent and unchangeable existence of Brahminical institutions.

In doing so they have overlooked the reasonable conclusion which, sanctioned by the well known revolutions of the world, admits the gradual advancement of Hinduism to its present perfection, and that it was a religion of proselytism little more than nine centuries ago. The known geographical distribution of tribes and nations tends to establish the just-

ness of such an opinion; and the internal evidence of the Sanscrit authorities gives it additional confirmation.*

To suppose that the timid natives of India, who have been subdued by different conquerors, were not, in the early ages of Christianity, a prey to those northern barbarians who successively deluged Europe, seems so at variance with the events of history, that, but for some men's partiality to the antiquity of the present Hindu social state, this opinion could have never gained belief.† The Brahmans and their language were prior to the æra of Alexander's historians, but without the extensive dominion in India that they now enjoy. The far spread remains of the Buddhaist religion, and its sectaries called Jainas,‡ to be yet seen in the caves, temples, and monuments that extend from the neighbourhood of Balkh Bamian, on the N. W., to Mahabatipure, on the S. E., indicate the sovereignty of a faith in these parts, which was prior to the now prevailing Brahminical hierarchy.§

The inferences also to be drawn from the fact, that many tribes called Melchchas|| in the institutes of Menu and the Puranas, are now within the pale of the orthodox creed, would further establish a progressive

* See Mr. H. Wilson's late account of the religious sects of the Hindus, and of those Samas, who, as worshippers of the sun, which they esteemed as the creator and cause of the world, were among the opponents of the famous Saiva reformer, Sankara Acharya, who flourished some time between the beginning of the 9th and end of the 10th century (A. R. vol. xvi. p. 15)

† Cosmas Indicopleustes, who visited India between a. d. 535 and 547, mentions a nation whiter than the rest, called the Hunni, who held sway over the west of India, and exacted large tributes from the surrounding states. (Murray's Asia, ii. p. 78.)

‡ These form a class of dissenters from the established, or orthodox system of Brahminism, which is now common to Hindustan. They admit of caste; will not allow the Vedas to be of Divine origin; do not, like the Brahmans, acknowledge any spiritual and eternal being from whom the universe derived its origin, but look on the material world with the human soul as self-existent and eternal, and have for their chief objects of worship, men, who, as saints, have raised themselves to the rank of divinities. Most of their theological opinions are similar to those of the Buddhaists and Sogatas, who do not admit of caste like the Jainas, but both worship, as subordinate deities, the Pantheon of the orthodox Hindus.

§ The cave temples of Buddhaist origin are by far more numerous on the N. W. of India than have been yet enumerated. In addition to the well known ones of Kanari, Elephanta, Karli, Ellora, and Ajainta, there are many more in the Dekhan and Konkan, such as those at Nasik, Junir, Aurungabad, Karrar, Mahar, &c.; in Malwa, and Rajputana, we find those of Bagh, and Gawalior; and I have heard of others in the Madras territories.

|| A general appellation for the unclean tribes that are not within the pale of the Hindu religion; and who are usually styled degraded *Kshetryas*. This would seem to imply that they did not conform to the Brahminical rites when others of the same original stock did. The different divisions of them are to be found enumerated in Wilson's Sanscrit Dictionary. Some of those identified are the Odros, Urias, or people of Orissa; the Draviras, or people of Madura and Tanjore, on the Coromandel Coast, who are now orthodox Hindus.

change of opinion, and the gradual conversion of the aborigines of India to the *present* established system of religion.*

Inasmuch, moreover, as the obscure subject of a nation's origin can admit of proof, when facts have been mistified through religious imposture, or the most recent annals perverted by fable, it may be reasonably contended for, that in the age of Herodotus, the Brahmans of India, the people of Persia, and those at the sources of the river Hydaspes, Sind, and Oxus, followed nearly the same faith, and were not dissimilar in manners.

It would appear that the religion they followed was the Sabean, or that which enjoining a respect for the host of heaven, as the noblest symbol of a deity, constituted the primitive idolatry of mankind.† It derived its name from the Sabeans, an ancient people of Arabia,‡ and was pro-

* Some of the *Puranas* are of very little antiquity, as would appear from the text of the *Padma Purana*, which makes mention of *Ramanuja*, the celebrated Vishnava reformer, who flourished in the middle of the 12th century, and was cotemporary with *Vishnu Verddhana*, the fourth Belal Raja of Devarasamudra (see A. R. xvi. p. 2S.) From what the *Bakhta Mala*, (A. R. xvi. p. 43,) asserts of the sectaries from Ramanuja, called Ramanandis, according to whose tenets the distinction of caste was inadmissible, we may safely infer that formerly a member of any tribe who assumed the garb of a mendicant, and devoted himself to penance, would have gained admission to the Hindu community. If we may credit the narration of Sadi, as given at the end of his *Bustan*, he was permitted, as a mendicant, to perform Hindu rites at the temple of Somnat. This happened in the 13th century; and though he calls the Brahmans Moghs, or fire-worshippers, it is scarcely possible that one, so generally well informed as is Sadi, could have done so in ignorance, or without having observed some connecting link of similarity.

† In reference to this subject I cannot forbear quoting an opinion of Mr. Prinsep, expressed in his *Journal* for September 1834, the justness of which appears supported by the evidence of inscriptions in Western India, and of the coins which the late Secretary of the Asiatic Society so ingeniously and successfully illustrated. "It is not surprising," says he, "that on the Indian side of the Persian monarch's dominions, in a part probably under his influence, if not directly under his sway, we should find the fire-altar, or the image of the sun, replaced by Krishna among the Hindus, or Buddha among the Buddhists; both of them personating the sun in their respective mythologies."

Whatever forms of the Hindu religion were prevalent at the time, the adoption of the sun as the ostensible representation of Divine power, either in accordance with the commands of the ruling prince, or from a natural tendency towards an union of the Brahminical and Magian faith, could not present many difficulties. "We must not be surprised," says Sir William Jones, "at finding that the characters of all the Pagan deities, male and female, melt into each other, and at last into one or two; for it seems a well-founded opinion, that the whole crowd of gods and goddesses in ancient Rome and modern Varanes (Benares), mean only the powers of nature, and *principally those of the sun*, expressed in a variety of ways, and by a multitude of fanciful names."

‡ The origin of the name is not clearly ascertained, but has been traced by some etymologists to the Arabic word *Sabaa*, signifying a rising star. The word *سابحات* *sabihat* in that language is also made to signify stars, planets, and angels; but I can assert nothing positive regarding the word Sabean.

fessed, in common with them, by the Persians, previous to the reformation of their religion by Zertusht, or Zoroaster, who introduced the worship of fire. The esoteric system of Sabeism was, apparently a pure theism, whilst its exoteric rites led to a stupid idolatry among the lower orders of the people.* In this respect it observed a distinction that prevails even in the *Vedas*, which have their *Karma Kanda*, and *Guyana Kanda*, a ritual and theology; † and would go far to establish an opinion, which has been entertained by many, that there is an identity in the astronomy and mythology of the ancient Arabs, Egyptians, and Hindus. Ferishta indeed tells us, that when Mohammed Kasim, the general of the Khalif Walid, invaded Sind, A. D. 711, the Hindu pilgrims resorted to Mekka and Egypt, for the purpose of paying adoration to the idols there, which they looked to with the utmost veneration; ‡ and there is much to make us believe that such an intercourse existed prior to the mission of the Prophet Mohammed.

The Persians had, at a very early period, adopted the worship of the sun, fire, and other elements; § the Scythian Massagetæ appear to have professed a similar faith, || and Mr. Colebrooke has admitted, "that the earliest Indian sect, of which we have any distinct knowledge, is that of the followers of the practical Vedas, who worshipped the sun, fire, and other elements." ¶

Such are the data for concluding that about five centuries before our æra the inhabitants of these countries were connected in religion, and could not have widely differed in their habits, when, as Herodotus tells us, the inhabitants of Casapatyrus,** or Kashmir, most resembled the Bactrians in their manners.

The Brahmans consider Kashmir as their original country, and traditionally relate they were led from thence into the plains of Hindustan by their leader Kasyapa, †† whose character is well known to the Brahminical and Buddhaist mythology.

* See Sir Wm. Jones's discourse on the Arabs, A. R. ii. p. 9.

† Wilson on the Hindu Sects. A. R. xvi. p. ii.

‡ Brigg's Translation of Ferishta; vol. iv. p. 402.

§ Herodotus in Cho. p. 131, and Erskine on the Sacred Books of the Parsees. Bombay Transactions. vol. ii. p. 3061.

|| Herodotus, p. 215.

¶ A. R. vol. ix. p. 273.

** It was so called among the Greeks, having been colonized by the followers of the sage Kasyapa, whose name in ordinary pronunciation, becomes Kashap, See A. R. vol. xv. p. 117.

†† He is the sixth terrestrial Buddha among the Nepalese, and the predecessor of Gautama. The same enumeration of Buddhas as known in Nepal, is made by Mr. Colebrooke, in his account of the Jains. A. R. vol. ix. p. 303. Quarto.

His name continued to distinguish a numerous tribe of the former, previous to the comparatively modern divisions of five *Gaur*s and five *Dravers*; or the yet more recent distinctions that obtain among them in different provinces of India. This general idea of their northern origin, which prevails among the better informed of the Brahminical sect, would appear in all respects worthy of belief; since there is evidence of such an event to be found in the traces of people belonging to the Hindu stock, migrating to the south. These are manifest in the names of countries enumerated by Sanscrit geographical works, that were originally affixed to stations north and south of the Himala mountains, and became applicable, in the course of time, to places in the south of India. Such was evidently the course by which the northern countries of Madra and Pandiya* transferred their names to the provinces of Madura and Marwar, on the Coromandel Coast; and by which Virata,† a part of the kingdom of Trigerta, or Lahore, came to be considered one of the seven *Konkans* situated in the south.

It is unnecessary to inquire whether they, who carried these names southward, were of the purely Brahminical or Buddhaist faith; for it may be truly asserted, that both religions in their origin were connected, and that the greater antiquity is in favour of the Brahmans, or the orthodox followers of the *Vedas*. Such would appear to be the import of the passage, quoted from the institutes of Menu by Sir William Jones, that, "Many families of the military class having gradually abandoned the ordinances of the *Vedas*, and the company of the Brahmans, lived in a state of degradation; as the people of Paudraca and Odra, those of Dravira and Camboja, the Yavanas and Sacas, the Paradas and Pahlavas, the Chinas, and some other nations." From this we learn, that a great revolution, both in religion and in government, was effected about this time; and that these nations conforming no longer to the Sabeian idolatry, which had been common to the east, adopted an altered system of religious

* The southern provinces of Madra or Madru and Pandiya are particularly mentioned in a grant of land (A. R. vol. ix. p. 428,) made during the time of *Rokshamalla Raja*, by the minister *Babakaja*, a descendant from Kasyapa. In the Hindu geographical work, called the *Shapte Sambheda*, and quoted by Mr. Ward (vol. iv. p. 456,) they are placed more to the north, and were originally the same as the *Pundda Regia* of the ancients, now identified with Sogdiana, or the valley of *Samarkand*. The date of the grant is Salivahana æra 1095, A. D. 1173.

† Some account of Virata, as one of the *Konkans*, will be found in Mr. Wilson's account of the Mackenzie Collection (p. xcix,) and in Grant Duff's enumeration of the same, (*Hist. of the Marahatas*, vol. i. p. 4); it appears under the corrupted name of Marwar, extending from Bancote to Bassein, inclusive of Bombay. The Marahata traditions relate that *Virat Rai*, who was the Rajah of Wai, near Satara, accompanied the Pandus to the battle of Kuruket; which though doubtful as a fact, evinces that he received his title from the country of Virata, a political division of India, that was originally more to the north than Wai.

belief. This consisted, as would appear, in the worship of *Mahat*, or intellect made manifest, as Gautama Buddha, with the introduction of an atheistical philosophy, which reasoning from material objects to the existence of spirit, confounded the shadow with the reality, and denied the existence of whatever was not cognizable by the senses. Some such difference in opinion brought about the Mahabarat, or great war in which the Pandus, with Krishna,* espoused the cause of the innovators, while *Dritarashtra* Raja and the Kurus held to the original faith. About this time, also, Viyasa collected and arranged the Vedas, which consisted originally of the prayers and hymns, or their *Sanhita*, that preceded, in Mr. Colebrooke's opinion, the *Bramhana*, or theological part.

The division of the people into four castes followed, if it was not contemporary with these innovations, and was effected about the period of the Macedonian conquest, if as we may infer from the respectful mention of the Yavana, or Greek power, in the Mahabharat, the composition of this poem dates posterior to the Macedonian conquest of India.† Some hold an opinion that the institution of caste, with its extravagant pretensions to antiquity, had been matured in Hindustan Proper long prior to the time of Alexander's historians. Those entertaining this belief have pretended to discover that the enumeration of classes made by Arrian is the exact counterpart of divisions now acknowledged by the Hindus. The probability of this cannot be granted without great latitude, and the seven classes of employment into which the Hindus were then distributed, as detailed by that writer, cannot be admitted to be identical with the now existing divisions of this people, into *Brahmans*, *Kshetriyas*, *Vaisiyas*, and *Shudras*. The former would have been found among the Egyptians, and were as characteristic of them as of the Hindus; whilst the other arrangement was effected, in all probability, about the time when the Sanscrit writers composed the earliest poetical works of the latter. If the Mahabharat, or poem of the great war, was composed soon after the Greek conquest, the reformation of orthodox Brahmanism would be placed not long before the Christian æra.‡ The Mahabharat may be then admitted

* Krishna's existence, as a real historical personage among the Hindus, is more than doubtful. He every where appears as the hero of fable, and whatever is believed regarding him, belongs to one whom the Hindus had heard of rather than known as a leader among themselves.

† See note v. on the history of Kashmir, A. R. vol. xv. p. 102.

‡ The Arab historian and geographer, Al-Masudi, who wrote A. D. 949, tells us that schism in the Hindu religion happened during the reign of Korish; and if his chronology for this event can be trusted, the origin of the Indian sectaries will be fixed at the commencement of our æra. Three hundred and twenty years elapsed, it is said, from the death of Phur (the Porus of Alexander's historians) to that of Korish; and if this be correct, the quarrel between the Buddhas and Brahmans happened B. C. 7.

to contain historical materials of some value; and accounts of recent events, greatly exaggerated by allegorical references to ages long past, and to mysteries in religion, that were little remembered, or imperfectly understood. Such is, I think, the correct supposition, and from thence we may trace, as among other nations, the origin of fable, and the genealogy of their gods.

The Brahmins did not long follow the astronomical religion of the *Vedas* without speculating on the divine nature, and that of celestial spirits. They personified the elements and the planets as the types of that unapproachable God whom they worshipped; and as Mr. Colebrooke says, "peopled heaven and the world below with various orders of beings." Their wonder at contemplating the infinite glory of the heavens, made them vent their sentiments in allegory. Their allegories, leading them astray from the great First Cause, gave rise to varied existences of the divinity, and these yet farther distracting their attention from the unity of God's nature, led to a system of meditation and mysticism, in regard to spirit, of which the promised benefit was to obtain liberation from this life, and union with the great Eternal Cause. This, which was common to the East, existed alike among the ancient Arabs and the Hindus; and though some are inclined to believe that the Sufyism of the Mohammedans derived its origin from the Yoga, or abstraction of the latter, yet we may trace it to a more remote system of *Deism*, the *Kaballa* of the Jews.*

A few extracts from the Sanscrit authorities, will shew us that this view of a very obscure subject is strictly deducible from the order of opinions as there made apparent. The prayer of the Veda, called *Gayatri*, concludes with these words—"Let us meditate on the Divine Ruler, (Savitri;) may it guide our intellects. Desirous of food, we solicit the gift of the splendid sun, (Savitri) who should be studiously worshipped. Venerable men, guided by the understanding, salute the divine sun, (Savitri) with oblations and praise."† This bears evident traces of Sabeism; which are

* According to Selden, the *Kaballa* of the Jews was a belief in the doctrines of the traditional law, held in almost equal reverence with the written one. It treated of divine things, of the more abstruse parts of their faith, of angels, and various symbols. The appellation *Kabala*, קבלה in Hebrew, bears nearly the same interpretation as *Kiblah* كِبْلَا in Arabic, signifying any thing that is before one, or the altar; and the Jews, by meditating on this, promised themselves a superior knowledge of celestial existences. The doctrines of this worship, combined with natural magic, became the foundation of what is believed by the Sufis, or followers of the truth. The authors of the middle ages, and the modern Greeks, who enumerate the different tribes situated west of the Indus, speak of those called *Hakak*, or those adoring the truth. These were free, and worshipped the sun and stars, as did the ancient Arabs. See dissertation on the travels of two Mohammedans. p. 176.

† Ward on the Hindus, vol. iv. p. 93.

yet more distinctly marked in the hymn from the Sama Veda ; where Brahma is characterized as the light of the moon, of the sun, of the fire, of the lightning, and all that shines.*

It may be well doubted if such a thing as Sabeism ever existed, without being mingled with that species of idolatry called *Pantheism* ; and which teaches that the divine nature, penetrating every thing, makes itself known by its operations. Such, indeed, is the Sabeism of the Vedas ; where the Supreme Being, in his works of creation, preservation, and destruction, is celebrated under the names of *Brahma*, *Vishnu*, and *Shiva*.

The founders of this system, reasoning on the nature of the deity, and the world's physical energies, disseminated their hypothesis on the origin of the universe ; and thus founded the six philosophical schools, or Darshanas of the Hindus, that were, certainly in existence prior to the composition of the *Mahabharat*. Their names are the *Voishesika*, the *Niyaya*, the *Mimansa*, the *Sāṅkhya*, the *Patangala*, and the *Vedanta*. This last, which is the school of Viyasa, who compiled the Vedas, is generally considered to be the most recent in its origin ; but was, I think, the first in natural order and in practice ; being a commentary on the theology of these books, written to support their somewhat ambiguous theism against the attacks of the Sankhya School, which had advocated Materialism. Its doctrines, which incline to pure Idealism, maintain that spirit is all in all, made manifest through its union with allusion, or gross matter ; and by supposing that the Supreme Being is disguised in many forms, divine, human and animal, they introduce what has been called Theomorphism. This blended with Sabeism and Pantheism forms the systematic Polytheism of the Brahmans.

The Sankhya, which appears connected with the religion of the younger Buddha, or Gautama, is atheistical, and inculcates Materialism. It declares that *Mahat* is the principle which is named the reasoning faculty, and springs from matter ; and that its synonyms are Vishnu, the all-pervading ; and Buddhi, the understanding. It is hostile to the *Veda* and the *Smritis*, or law books ; asserting, “ that he, who in the body has obtained emancipation, is of no caste, of no sect, of no order, attends to no duties, adheres to no Shasters, to no formulas, and to no works of merit.”†

Opinions such as these were adopted by the followers of Buddha ; who soon became so numerous and powerful as to be more than a match for those who adhered to the ancient religion. The two hostile sects of Buddha and Brahma were evidently cognate, and of contemporary origin :

* Ward on the Hindus, vol. iv. p. 82

† See Ward's Translation of the Sankhya Sara, vol. iv.

though the latter, as adherents of the Vedas, and the Sabean idolatry, truly lay claim to superior antiquity.

Sabeism was, as we have endeavoured to shew, the original religion of the people east and west of the river Indus; and was followed by a modification of its original tenets, now known as the faiths of Buddha and Brahma. The people who believed the last, occupied the banks of the Ganges and Hindustan Proper; those who professed the other, were on either bank of the Indus, and in the south of India. The two rival sects appear to have existed in amity with each other, until the Brahmans, having introduced caste, and endeavoured to exalt themselves above their opponents, brought on the Mahabarat, or great war, that happened posterior to the time of Alexander the Great's expedition to India. In modifying the Sabeism of the Vedas, they introduced the monstrous fables of the *Puranas*, with the deification of abstract properties, under the name of gods. In doing this they addressed the ignorant spirit of the people, whose seers and astrologers they were; and, having artfully incorporated the opinions of existing sects with their own, claimed for their religion unchanging uniformity, though this faith, made up of all systems, is so heterogeneous, as to be incapable of an analysis that would resolve it into its separate sources.

The origin of the Buddhaist system can be traced back five centuries before the Christian æra, but its followers were for long after limited in number and power. Though there be nothing but conjecture, on which we may found an opinion, whether Balkh and Benian, or the districts eastward of the Indus were the countries of its nativity, we possess internal evidence, in the religions of Zertusht and Buddha, that they were for some time connected, and the affinity existing between the Zend and Sanscrit languages, would further warrant us to conclude, with Sir William Jones,* "that a powerful monarchy was established in Persia, and that it was, in truth, a Hindu monarchy," when Sabeism was the religion of both countries. This monarchy, or the Mahabadian empire of Persia, is celebrated among the Buddhaists of Ceylon, as we learn from the report of the Colombo Bible Society, for 1816; and the fact of the same being known in the tradition of the Buddhas, evinces that these seceders from Sabeism, who spread themselves over the south of India, existed in intimate connection with the followers of Zertusht. The coins and relics lately discovered in the sepulchral monuments, that exist in the Punjab and the vicinity of Cabul, bear evidence to the correctness of this opinion; and the narratives of the Arab historians lead us to infer, that the fire-temple, in

* See his Discourse on the Persians, A. R. vol. ii.

India, dedicated to *Helios*, or the sun, and which was permitted to escape destruction, on three times the value of its precious things having been given to the Mohamedan conqueror Hijaj-bin Yusuf, was no other than the Buddhaist temple of Multan, called "the happy house of gold."

Hij: 23.
A. D. 644. The communication, between India and Persia, which had existed from the earliest times, was not interrupted till the twenty-third year of the Hijira when the followers of Mohammed, having subdued the province of Khorasan, and countries west of the Indus, became masters of the pastoral tribes in that quarter.* The intercourse of the Hindus with the aborigines on the north of India, was not finally
A. D. 675. closed until thirty years after, when the Tartars of the north-west were forced to submit their necks to the yoke of Islam. The subsequent wars and aggressions of the Mohammedans, to the north-east, drove these nomades to the south, some of whom having conformed to the institution of caste, and other gods of the Brahminical Panthæon, gave rise to a modification of their then Buddhaist tenets, which is now known under the name of the Jaina religion. This had its origin, as would appear, when the rival sects of Buddha and Siva were striving for superiority in Hindustan; and arose from a union of the two systems endeavouring to reconcile the more objectionable parts of the Buddhaist faith to the received opinions of the orthodox Hindus. Brahmans, however, formed part of both religions, and the inhabitants of the island of Bali distinguished them, in the twelfth century, as the sects of Buddha and Siva.† The great influx
A. D. 1166. towards the *Dekhan* and country south of the *Narbada* of those professing the latter faith, about this time, will account for the migration of the Buddhaists, or the Jaina sectaries of this faith, into the islands of the Indian ocean.

A Brahmanical invasion, from the north, is traditionally ascribed to a prince named Mayura Verma;‡ who was the founder of the Kadumba, or Kamma race of Rajputs. By the most consistent account he is placed in the ninth century; but flourished, probably somewhat later. The greatest-influx of Rajputs to the Dekhan happened, however, from the beginning of the tenth to the end of the twelfth century, caused by the conquest of Mahmud of Guzna, and his successors.

The Jainas assert, that "in the time of Bijjala Raya, who ruled with renown in the city of Kalayana,§ the Dakshen of Hindustan was conquered

* Price's Mahomedan Annals, vol. i. p. 138.

† Crawford on the people of Bali; A. R. vol. xiv.

‡ See Mayura Verma Cheritra in the Catalogue of the McKenzie collection vol. ii. p. 95.

§ It is generally called Kalyan, or Kayani; and lies about fifty miles north of Kulberga, in the Dekhan.

by the Sadapramans,"* or followers of the Vedas: and this tradition is attested by the sculpture in the caves of Ellora, where the union of the Buddhaist and Brahminical faiths declares them to be the works of the Jainas, or some similar sect, labouring to accommodate a belief and reliance on mortals of transcendent virtue to the worship of the gods that are chiefly esteemed in the Hindu Pantheon. The Brahmans who have visited the caves of Ellora and Ajunta, deny the possibility that any part of the sculptures could have been executed by the orthodox sect.†

These Buddhaist sectaries on having changed their original faith, were designated by the name of Rajputs; and executed the magnificent temples of Abu, and other such stupendous works, on the banks of the Indus. They have preserved no record of their origin excepting traditions; which their bard Chandra embodied in his work, the *Prithvi Raya Riyasa*. Prithvi Raya, or Pithora, who is the hero of the tale, became, from his connexion with the first Mohammedan conquerors, the subject of real history; and the poem, which celebrates his exploit, can claim no higher antiquity than A. D. 1192; when this Lord Protector of the feudal barons of India, as mentioned in my introduction to the *Mirat Ahmedî*, fell at the battle of Tanessar.

* See account of the Jainas, A. R. ix. p. 247.

† Mr. Erskine's lucid observations on the Caves of the Dekhan, have shed much light on a very obscure subject; but I cannot agree with the learned gentleman in thinking that any of them were ever executed by Brahmans, except in connexion with the followers of Buddha, whose guides they were in introducing Jaina innovations.

NOTE.—The paper now communicated, was read at a meeting of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, so early as December 1835, but withdrawn, before the brilliant discoveries of the late Mr. Prinsep had given currency to facts, that bear out generally the truth of opinions here maintained. The explanation of the several series of coins found in the north-west of India, the interpretation of the Lath and Cave Inscriptions, and the translation of the Mahawanso by Mr. Turnour, with other collateral coincidence, have strengthened the writer's conviction of the justness of opinions then formed. They have been kept unpublished, as some orientalists, whose acquirements the writer respects were opposed to them; though these had only been accustomed to view the Hindu social state through the glass of Brahminical representation, and distorted Sanscrit evidence. The president, however, in thanking Dr. Bird for his paper, which had been listened to with much interest, observed, "that while he was prepared to dispute some of its important positions, it was but fair that it should be laid before the learned world, for candid criticism, in the state in which it had been communicated to the Society."

*Proceedings of the Asiatic Society.**(Wednesday Evening, 4th November, 1840.)*

Col. J. A. HODGSON in the Chair.

Library and Museum.

The following books, &c. were presented :—

Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopædia—Treatise on Malacology,	1
Philosophical Magazine and Journal of Science, 3rd Series, Vol. 16th, No. 101, and 105, February and June, 1840.	2
Proceedings of the Geological Society of London, Vol. 3rd, No. 67, 1840.	1
Oriental Christian Spectator, 2nd Series, Vol. 1st, No. 9, September 1840,	1
List of Works relating to India, published by W. H. ALLEN and Co.	1
History of British Birds, by W. YARREL, London, Parts 14 and 15; September and November, 1840.	2
Chinese Repository, Vol. 8th, No. 9, January, 1840,	1
Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register for British and Foreign India, China, and Australasia, February, 1840, Vol. 31st, No. 122. New Series, 8vo.	1
Transactions of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, &c. 1839, Vol. 52nd, Pt. 2nd, 8vo.	1
Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London, 1840, No. 11, 8vo.	1
Annals of Natural History, or Magazine of Zoology, Botany, and Geology, by JARDINE and SELBY, London, July, 1840, No. 32, 8vo.	1
Annales des Sciences Naturelles, Zoologie, et pour Botanique, par AUDOWINE et EDWARDS; Tome 12th, Paris, Août 1839, 2nd Series,	2
Column at Corygaum, to the memory of Captain STAUNTON, 1821,	1
Sketch to ditto, Madras 1818,	1

The Officiating Secretary submitted to the inspection of the meeting, an old Chinese Coin presented by W. E. Stirling, Esq. with the following memorandum—

“ This is an old Chinese Coin. It was stated to have been coined before the Tartar Dynasty occupied China. It is presented through me by Captain ALCOCK, who obtained it at Macao. The twelve animals which surround the inner circle and inscription, probably represent the signs of the Zodiac, but not in such distinct characters as to be free from doubt. The Chinese characters of the inner inscription can probably be read by those versed in that language. The obverse side represents two Dragons. I am sorry I cannot offer any particular observations, but trust that this coin will be esteemed a rarity of no small interest.”

Read a letter from Lieut. A. CUNNINGHAM, from which the following is an extract—

“ I have had a long letter from Lady Sale, and she promises me impressions of all curious coins that she may meet with. Sir ROBERT had been opening a Tope, but

was disturbed by DOST MAHOMED. POOR EDWARD CONOLLY too, had commenced work upon the great Khybar Tope, which is said to be the most magnificent in India, by those who never went two miles out of their road to see the great Benares Tope, which is 110 feet high.

“If I was at Patna, I would have the topes across the Ganges opened in two months. I can hear of nothing near this place. I hope however to be able to pay a visit to Faizabad, near which I hear, that there is a pillar.

“I have a short inscription of the time of GOVINDA CHUNDRA DEVA, of Kanouj, the predecessor of VIJAYA CHUNDRA DEVA, the prince mentioned in the long inscription of which Colonel CAULFIELD has sent you a copy. My short inscription mentions, GASALA DEBEE as the wife of GOVINDA CHUNDRA.”

Read a further letter from the same officer, with reference to which the Officiating Secretary earnestly begged, that notice might be taken by any member of the Society, or indeed any individual whose position and inclinations might enable him to serve the cause of Antiquarian research in Behar, alluded to in the latter portion of the letter, which was then read as follows—

“I am now lithographing a large drawing of a beautiful silver patera of a Sassanian king on horseback, killing a lion—2nd Shahpore? It has an inscription which I am to get shortly.

“I have heard of no new genuine coins, but the forged coins are becoming plentiful, and I think I have discovered the forger. The fellow has not much character to lose, but, I think an exposure will put others on their guard against purchasing coins from him.

“The country north of Patna is full of topes, none of which have been opened:—

“1. The Kesariah mound, 20 miles N. of Bokhra, in sight of the Gunduk.

“2. A mound of solid brickwork, about 40 feet high, near Bassar.

“3. At Bokhra (*not* the Azimgurh Bokhra) 13 kos north of Patna, and 6 kos north of Singhea—a *pillar and tope* of solid brickwork; a *horizontal* excavation was made by a doctor of Mozufferpore 35 years ago, (therefore the first excavator of a tope), but nothing was found.

“Could you not manage to have an excavation made from the top to the foundation, in a perpendicular direction? Some one at Patna, or Mozufferpore, might superintend the work. The pillar also should have an inscription, which is probably under ground.”

The Officiating Secretary submitted to the Meeting the reply from Major RAWLINSOON of Candahar, to a communication which he had addressed to that able Antiquarian, in which he had begged him to undertake the duties of Corresponding Secretary in Affghanistan. The Society, the Officiating Secretary observed, would not fail to regret exceedingly the difficulties which interfere with Major RAWLINSOON'S accepting this office, and which he had requested him to undertake in common with the late Capt. CONOLLY, who working in a different part of the country, might have devoted his energetic endeavours to the furtherance of some of the main objects of the Society.

“ It was with extreme gratification that I received your letter of September 9th, a few days ago, enclosing the official notice of my admission into the Asiatic Society, and conveying to me the very flattering offer of acting as Corresponding Secretary to your institution across the Indus; fond as I am of the study of antiquities, there could hardly be a greater *pleasure* to me, than filling the situation you propose, which would place me in communication with all the most skilful antiquaries and numismatologists of India, but really and truly, I have not the time to bestow on the duties of so fascinating an employment; being now in a laborious and responsible Political situation, I feel it incumbent on me to sacrifice, to a due fulfilment of my public duties, those pursuits which for many years past have formed my chief study and delight, and which when I am once fairly engaged on them, possess for me all the attraction that attaches the opium-eater to his drug. I have now brought myself to eschew antiquities upon principle, leaving unfinished several papers for which I am pledged to Societies in London, Paris, and Vienna, and it would be perfect ruin to me to be subjected afresh to the temptations which the office of your Corresponding Secretary would necessarily throw in my way. EDWARD CONNOLY would have been a most zealous and efficient coadjutor, and would probably have had it in his power to command the requisite leisure, but, alas! you will have heard long since of his untimely fate, and I doubt if there is any one in the country qualified to supply his place.

“ I should like, if I found during the winter that public business was not very pressing, to give you a series of letters to be published monthly in your Journal, tracing the outlines of such Historical and Geographical information as we possess regarding Affghanistan from the earliest ages to the present day, and inviting inquiry on all matters of interest referring to the different epochs, but I could promise nothing more than outlines, for I certainly have not the information (and I almost doubt its being procurable) to fill up details, or attempt any thing like analysis; something of the sort however certainly requires to be done; hitherto the numismatical discoveries have hardly been turned to any account; we have a long list of names, but there has been no attempt to appropriate them to the different tribes and dynasties of which, chiefly through the Chinese authorities, we can darkly trace the succession in the regions between the Oxus and the Indus, still less has there been any endeavour to affiliate these tribes, or to work out their descent into the page of modern history.

“ I beg to return you my best thanks for the impression of Pottinger’s cylinder, it is a relic at least as ancient as the times of Cyrus and Darius, and must have travelled from the banks of the Euphrates to the spot where it was found in the Paropamisian mountains. The inscription is in the Hieartic Babylonian character, and is in fact the usual formula (probably a prayer) found upon all these sacred cylinders. This character, which is the third or complicated class of cuneiform writing, is crept in a few signs conjecturally rendered by Burnouf, altogether undecypherable. It is probably syllabic, and certainly embodies a semitic language. The means of rendering it intelligible are, however, I believe, in existence, and if I ever return to Persia, and can devote a year or two to the task, I do not despair of mastering it by the assistance of the Zend literal cuneiform characters, which I perfectly understand, and which

is employed in the inscriptions, to render the translations from the Babylonian into the ancient Persian. The character being once decyphered, the language to which it is appropriated will no doubt be found cognate with the Phœnician, and I assert with confidence, that the knowledge thus obtained will open to us (always following the Mosai- cal early history of the world) an insight into the common original language of man- kind, as thousands of bricks stamped with this writing are found in the foundations of the tower of Babel, and must have been placed there before the confusion of tongues, when the language spoken in the plain of Shinar, was, I suppose it will be admitted, the same that Adam and Eve used in Paradise, and this I believe is about the ultimate limit that antiquarianism reaches; joking apart, however, there is no doubt but the read- ing of this character will give us a decent knowledge of the history of Assyria and Babylonia from Nimus to Sadanapalus and Nebuchadnezar; the records are most ample.

“The inscription on Hutton’s antique, gives the title of the king as Palash (the Vola- gases of the Greeks) and from the style of the Pehleivee writing, probably refers to the Sassanian monarch of that name; but I have not yet satisfied myself as to the exact meaning of the entire legend. I have a vast number of impressions of Sassanian gems with legends, and will endeavour some day to give you a paper on them; but the subject is very obscure, and requires a still greater field of collation, than I have hitherto suc- ceeded in accumulating.

“Coins are scarce in this part of the country, and the nomenclature of Bactrian and Melo-Scythian numismatology is, I fancy, pretty well exhausted, but all the useful part of the science requires, as I have already observed, still to be elaborated.”

The Officiating Secretary submitted a note of charges for the printing of Part 2d, Vol. II of the Researches of the Society, and again suggested that a volume of Transactions might be prepared in octavo, should the Committee of Papers determine that the materials, which the Officiating Secretary was prepared to submit to them, were of a nature to admit of publication; the octavo form was, the Officiating Secretary observed, of advantage, not only as regarded the saving of expence, but also for facility of carriage, which was a matter of some importance for a Society which communicated with cor- responding members at so great a distance as did the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

(Suggestion referred to the Committee of Papers.)

Read a letter from Capt. T. S. BURT, of which the following is a copy—

“Since my letter to you of the 19th October, I have been over to Chitore, and taken facsimiles of the inscriptions I met with there; their age is *about* 750 years, as well as I can make out; Tod speaks of those on the lofty pillar, but not of two others, which I found in an old temple there; I shall defer sending them to Calcutta for the present.

“I have found some *images* of marble at Ajmere, 650 years of age, with inscriptions on their pedestals.

“ I am now about to proceed to mount *Aboo*, celebrated by Tod, and I hope to find some Pali writing, as well as other characters there.

“ My principal object in writing to you now, is this—my brother of the 64th states, that when looking for my *lost* drawings either in the Society’s apartments or in the Mint, he found a number of facsimiles of old inscriptions bearing my signature, which were thrown aside in consequence of JAMES PRINSEP’S illness; now as many of them, a few in *particular*, were very valuable, and of considerable age, as the pillars upon which I found them testify, I think it right to bring the circumstance to your notice, with a hope that you will not allow them to lie any longer as they now do, ‘unnoticed and unknown.’ ”

The query put by Capt. BURT, regarding the fate of his inscriptions, was directed to be referred to the executors of the late Secretary, Mr. JAMES PRINSEP.

Read a report from the Officiating Curator to the Society’s Museum, together with the following observations recorded by the Officiating Secretary, in submitting that Report to the Committee of Papers.

“ I have the honor to submit to the Committee of Papers, the accompanying report by our present Officiating Curator. The zeal with which Mr. PIDDINGTON is entering on his task of arresting the progress of decay, will I trust be as grateful to the Committee, who were the cause of his temporary appointment, as his labours are certain of being useful to the Society.”

“ TO H. TORRENS, Esq.

“ DEAR SIR,

“ *Officiating Secretary of the Asiatic Society.*

“ Having in pursuance of your letter of 27th December last assumed charge of the Museum of the Asiatic Society, as Officiating Curator, on 1st instant, I have now, in obedience to the resolutions of the Committee of Papers referred to in it, to submit my Monthly Report.

“ *Palæontological, Geological, and Mineralogical Department.*—The first impression which a cursory inspection of these departments of the Museum has given me, is a strong one of the sad dilapidation going on amongst them; partly in consequence of trusting to the very perishable recording, which ink, paper and paste admit of in a climate like this, and partly from the almost entire absence of any general or serial catalogues to the various collections; many of which, again, have evidently been broken into, for the purpose I presume of completing other arrangements? but of no such arrangements, whether completed or left incomplete, has it seems any note or register unfortunately been left in the Museum. I have written to my predecessors on this subject, to ascertain if any records of any kind exist, and I yet trust we shall be able to rescue something to guide us in the sad confusion which now prevails.

“ I may briefly state a few facts in confirmation of what is here said. In our rich Palæontological collection, no registers or catalogues, beyond the few lists printed

in the Journal exist, that I can yet discover; and valuable specimens are fast losing their labels of names, and above all, of localities. In our Geological series I find, amongst others, even those of Gerard, Voysey, and Franklin—the first particularly of unique specimens, collected often at the risk of his life at 16 and 18,000 feet of elevation, midst the snows of the Himalaya, on the frontiers of Chinese Tartary—all going to utter confusion, through the growing indistinctness of the ink, and the ravages of damp and insects. Of the valuable collection of the Lavas of Vesuvius, presented by Sir EDWARD RYAN, though of this the Catalogue exists, yet only thirty-six out of nearly a hundred specimens can yet be found; I omit for brevity's sake, further details of this nature.

“I have then thought it of urgency to confine myself almost wholly to arrest this dilapidation, and if possible, so to place every thing upon record as it now exists, or can be ascertained, that at all events farther mischief in this way may be stopped, and the records rendered as enduring as paint and printing can make them. The Museum book of “Geological collections,” sent herewith, will shew what I propose doing for every series; and I have arranged in Case No. 8, Frame No. 1 (to the right hand below the stair-case) Dr. GERARD'S series, in such order, with its separate little book of reference in the case, that it is available for the study of visitors and members, and when the serial catalogue is printed, it will be beyond the reach of any thing but wilful confusion for a long period of years.* I shall be happy to have the opinion of the Committee on this plan of arrangement, and these views. My own feeling and judgment on this point is, that nothing could be more lamentable, and more discouraging to the progress of Indian Science, than the fact that collections, which men have almost literally laid down their lives to obtain, should thus be lost to their memory, and to the ends of Science.

“*Osteological Department.*—In this division the want of cases for preserving the smaller skeletons from the effects of dust and dirt is much felt; and I beg to submit this matter particularly to the attention of the Committee; for several of our skeletons are rare and valuable, and even a common one costs time and expence to replace, or repair it. The small skeletons are particularly liable to dilapidation when dusting, and from the incautious handling of visitors.

“*Mammalogical Department.*—In this again we are entirely without glass-cases, and in spite of daily care, much dilapidation must be going on, which is but too evident in many of the specimens.

“*Ornithological Department.*—This and the following department are by far the best preserved of our collections, being fully provided with cases.

“*Reptiles, Fishes, &c.*—Provided with cases, and generally in excellent preservation. Mostly named, but no catalogues. The spirits of wine having partly evaporated from many of the jars and bottles, it has been necessary to fill them up, which occasions some extra expence. I am in hopes of at least diminishing this evil in future,

* Five series in all, are arranged, comprising 293 specimens, but only one is placed in a case for inspection.

by the precaution of cementing over the stoppers, which, with their current duties, and the preparation of the additions to the Museum, mentioned hereafter, has been the standing employment of the Curator's Assistants.

“ Additions to the Museum this month have been—

“ 1. A valuable series of Geological specimens from Brimhan Ghaut, on the Nerbudda, to Omarkuntuck, the source of that river, by Dr. SPILSBURY—*Arranged and Catalogued.*

“ 2. The splendid skeleton and skin of the Gaur, from Chota Nagpore, by Major OUSELEY—*Skeleton mounted, skin suspended, being imperfect.*

“ 3. Skeleton of the Eagle formerly in the Society's compound—*Mounted.*

“ 4. A fine specimen of the Hematronus undulatus—*From C. P. White, Esq. Midnapore; stuffed. Duplicate of one in the Museum.*

“ 5. A pair of the young of the Cheel, Falco ater—*Stuffed.*

“ 6. A fine specimen of the Machal, Falco ——— ? (Purchased, not previously in our collection)—*Stuffed.*

ASIATIC SOCIETY'S MUSEUM,
30th November, 1840.

I am, Sir,
Your's obediently,
H. PIDDINGTON.

The Officiating Curator submitted his report on the Mineral specimens sent from Rajpootana by Capt. BURT, under the supposition that they were of the nature of Coal. Mr. PIDDINGTON observed, that it has no relationship to the Coal whatsoever, for it is infusible at a heat which blisters platina. It is one of the Titaniferous Oxigen of iron. He likewise submitted the following list of specimens as desiderata for the Osteological branch of the Museum :—

“ *Skeletons.*

- § Neel Ghye.
- { Samur, 4 horned Deer of Sumbhalpoor (Kotarn ?)
- § Buffalo.
- { Gayal.
- § Garial.
- { Alligator (large.)
- { Lion.
- { Leopard.
- { Lynx.
- { Hyæna.
- { Jyo, or wild Dog of Bundlecund.
- { Do. or do. do. of Nepal.
- { Do. or do. do. of Affghanistan.
- Pangolins.
- Tapirs of Tenasserim Province.
- Dugong of Singapore.

For the presentations and contributions the thanks of the Society were accorded.

